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TO THE
EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

Wolseley Hall, 30. Dec., 1834.

SIR,

It was my intention to address, this week, a second letter to Sir ROBERT PEEL, containing some remarks on his speech at the Mansion-house; but, in an article which I find in your paper of yesterday, you speak out so much more plainly, and so much more ably, that I prefer the addressing of myself to you; and I shall, with great respect for your talents, and with giving you full credit for the goodness of your motives, at once proceed to offer you the observations, which occur to me, as necessary for me to make and to publish on that article; taking care, when I have so done, to insert the article itself.

The article was, it appears, drawn from your able pen by my having expressed my *wonder*, that you, who had spoken of the Whigs as a faction *down, never to rise again*, should have begun to be *frightened*, and to think *their return to power a possible thing*; and, further, by my asking, what would be worse than that which we have now to endure could befall us, even if the Whigs were to return to power. The contents of your article may be shortly expressed in the following propositions, which when I have stated them, I will observe on, one by one.

1. That, twelve days ago, you were frightened; and that you still feel some, though not so much, alarm, at a possible restoration of the Whigs; but that in both cases the alarm has arisen less from the

imminency of the danger, than from its tremendous magnitude.

2. That the Radicals have talent, energy, and singleness of purpose; and are bold, peremptory, and fanatic—
3. That the Whigs must, if they return to power, effect the wishes of the Radicals, and make all the dreadful changes which they propose.

4. That one item of these changes is the canceling of the public debt.

5. That to cancel the public debt (which might be either cause or effect of the triumph of the Radicals) must produce indiscriminate confusion, and mutual slaughter.

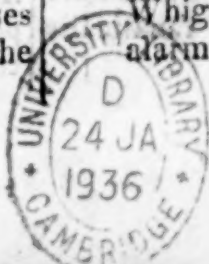
6. That a failure of a *speculation in pepper* was the *most feasible* cause of the panic of 1825.

7. That such an event would inflict as great sufferings upon the poor as upon the rich, or greater; because industry is protected by the security of property; and every poor man ought to know, that he would lose even the fruit of his labour, if the property of the rich and the great were destroyed.

8. That though absolute chaos did not then come, many thousands of families would sink into almost a want of bread and cheese and of food coarse enough to suit the regimen prescribed by the MARTINEAU school of politicians.

I should observe that the article which called forth my remarks, was published just after the arrival of Sir ROBERT PEEL, and before the issuing of his manifesto; for, if I had seen the manifesto before I wrote the letter to you, I should not have written that letter at all. I now proceed with the propositions.

1. That twelve days ago you were frightened; and that you still feel some, though not so much, alarm, at a possible restoration of the Whigs; but that, in both cases the alarm has arisen less from the im-



minency of the danger, than from its tremendous magnitude.

Oh no! sir! it is *the imminency* that frightens you; and here is the cause of it. You had sense enough to see, that *the people* had not changed at all: that there had been none of that "*re-action*" with which the Tories flattered themselves. You had sense enough to see, that the Whigs were down, because the people had abandoned them; and not because the people had fallen in love with the Tories. You saw that exonerations on the Whigs kept hand in hand with suspicions of the Tories. The address from the town of MANCHESTER, which thanked the King for having turned out the Whigs, on those prominent accusations, the *Poor-law Bill*, and the refusal to repeal the *malt-tax*, and which had, by way of rider, an *unanimous vote of censure on the Duke of WELLINGTON*, for having supported the *Poor-law Bill*, and the red-coat-court-of-justice Bill for Ireland: this address and resolution would have been a sure guide for you. You would have said, "We must repeal the *Poor-law Bill* and the *malt-tax*, and adopt a mild course of government, or else our fate will be that of the relapsed in the Scripture, whose last end was worse than his first." It was when you entertained the rational expectation, that the Tories would *act thus*, that you were bold and confident; but when you found, after the arrival of Sir ROBERT PEEL, that the Whig system was to be persevered in: when you saw that the Radicals would be compelled, if not to make common cause with the Whigs, yet not to do any thing to weaken their power of combating the Tories; when you found that the line of policy of Sir ROBERT PEEL was going to be such as would decide against the Tories all those who were balancing before; *then, and not till then, you began to be alarmed*; and I saw clearly the ground of your alarm, at the time when I addressed my letter to you.

2. That the Radicals have talent, energy, and singleness of purpose; and are bold, peremptory, and fanatically bent on revolution.

Now, sir, though I hate the name, I am what *you call* a Radical; and it will be allowed, I am sure, that I am as formidable to our foes as any one of the whole host. I assert, that, if you mean by *revolution* an overthrow of this ancient and excellent (though horribly *abused*) form of government; if you mean by revolution an overthrow of the several orders in the state, or any of those orders; if you mean a subversion of the ancient and fundamental laws of the country, under which laws, before they were so greatly perverted, and many of them totally subverted, England was so really free for so many ages; if you mean that I wish for a state of things to arise, when property shall not be held sacred, next after the property in life, limb, and labour; if these, or any of these, be what you mean by "*revolution*"; then your accusation against me, and against all who think with me, is most calumniously unjust; and for proof of the injustice, we have only to appeal to our well-known and well-recorded acts.

From the years 1816 to 1820, ours was a life of persecutions the most savage. *Imprisonment* was the mildest visitation that we had to endure: the dungeons groaned with the effect of our sufferings. Exile and pecuniary ruin, or death in a dungeon, was my own lot. The imprisonment, and the ferocious indignities of that inoffensive, brave, and public-spirited gentleman, in whose mansion I now am, are never to be thought of without inexpressible indignation. The mockery at the groans of OGDEN; the death of RILEY, in his dungeon; the massacre of MANCHESTER; the swarms of execrable spies, employed to entrap unthinking men. All these are not to be forgotten; nor are we to forget that PARSON HAY of MANCHESTER, who gave the word of command on that terrible day, received the living of ROCHDALE, worth two thousand pounds a year, immediately after that massacre, he having a great living before. And what was all this for? And why were the dungeon-bill, and power-of-imprisonment bill passed? Because a million and half of us petitioned

the Parliament for a reform of the Commons' House; and because we stated that our objects, in wanting this reform, were, that all pensioners, and other persons living out of the taxes, should cease to live out of them, except in consideration of well-known public services; that the interest of the debt should be so reduced as that we might have to pay only according to the amount of the sums borrowed; that the salaries and allowances of all men in public employ should be reduced on the same principle; that the standing army, in time of peace, should be greatly reduced; and, finally, that our burdens should be lightened, particularly by A REPEAL OF THE TAX UPON MALT.

Was there any *crime* in thus petitioning, sir? Yet we were hunted like wild beasts; our situation was little other than that of the wolves, in the reign of that king who put an end to their race. To injure us, to swear falsely against us, formed the straight road of success in life; and, as in the case of the wolves, to destroy or injure us, formed an expiation for crimes, and a white-washing for character. A man, confined on a charge of *burglary*, was taken out of jail, the charge being *withdrawn*, only a fortnight before he was brought to give evidence against Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY; and his evidence was believed in preference to that of two reporters of *even ministerial newspapers*, who produced in court the reports that they had taken on the spot!

Our situation was precisely that of the wolves; and if we had shown, or were now to show, a little vindictive ferocity, the wonder would not be so very great. However, we did not show it; and we never have shown it; and, for my own part, I defy any man to bring forward, from any one of my hundred of volumes, any sentiment hostile to the *ancient laws* and *prescriptive rights* of any order in this community. Therefore, you have no ground for apprehension on this score. We are no *innovators*; but, on the contrary, our war is, and always has been, against *innovations*.

3. That the Whigs must, if they return

to power, carry into full effect the wishes of the Radicals, and make all the dreadful changes which they propose.

Leaving out the word "dreadful," I believe this is quite right; for, if the Whigs come in again, they must repeal the Poor-law Bill, and the malt-tax; they must remove altogether the hierarchy in Ireland; they must reform the church here in good truth; and I, for my part, will never rest, while there shall remain a Bourbon-police, and while there shall remain one single jot of those *innovations*, in the introducing of which, Sir ROBERT PEELE has had the principal hand; and, above all things, they must come to an equitable adjustment of that debt, which is the great cause of all the turmoil; and which cannot much longer co-exist with those orders of the state, to destroy which I have never known, in my whole life, a man (that I call my friend) to express the desire. But, sir, it is a hackneyed affair, to charge people with wishing to overturn the Government, the moment they complain of oppression. Want the malt-tax to be taken off: you are instantly "a *revolutionist* and a rebel." Want Lord WALSINGHAM not to have three church-livings in Hampshire, and to swallow up the revenues of half-a-dozen other livings in Surrey and Hampshire, leaving the miserable incumbents forty or fifty pounds a year each, and to have their pittance augmented by *taxes raised on the working people*; express a wish to see this, and hundreds of things like this, put to rights; and you are instantly guilty of "*blasphemy* and *sedition*." This insolence we have been compelled to submit to during the greater part of my life; and to this insolence we are resolved no longer to submit.

4. That one item of these changes is the *canceling* of the public debt.

Sir, who has ever called for a *canceling* of the public debt? Nobody; and this misrepresentation is unworthy of a man like you; and it is, above all things, impolitic; especially if you do really believe that the Radicals have so much power as you say they have. We

have never called for a *canceling* of the debt, and we have never called it the *public* debt. What we have called for is this; that, in the first place, the interest of the debt should be reduced upon principles of undeniable equity; and, as my colleague has most amply proved, the fundholders have been overpaid, principal as well as interest, long ago. I here come to a proper place to advert to a passage in the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL at the Mansion-house; namely, that passage where he speaks of "*respect for property*"; and of people of "*intelligence*" and property being *tired* of the *pressure from without*. Alas, sir! it is he, above all men living, that has caused the pressure from without, and the pressure from within, too. But of this I will speak under another head.

5. That, to cancel the public debt (which might be either cause or effect of the triumph of the Radicals), must produce indiscriminate confusion, and mutual slaughter.
6. That a failure of speculation in pepper was the most feasible cause of the panic of 1825.

Let us stop here to observe, in the first place, as, indeed, I already have observed, that we do not propose a *canceling* of the debt. But, if it were *anceled* all at once, would the confusion and slaughter be *greater* now than it would have been if it had been cancelled in 1826? You know that then the Ministers themselves told us, in the House of Commons, that we had, at one time, been *within eight-and-forty hours of barter*. That you know, sir, is a *canceling* of the debt at once. And, sir, do you think a man an enemy of the country, who wishes to *get rid*, by some means or other, of a thing so dangerous as this? The present most pressing troubles of the Ministry notoriously arise out of measures adopted by President JACKSON. What! and could you endure the thought of upholding a system which exposes this, the greatest of all the kingdoms upon earth, to be thrown into such a state of distress, embarrassment and uproar, by the mere domestic regulations of a foreign prince

or chief magistrate? And yet this must be the case as long as this monster continues to exist in any thing approaching to its present magnitude. Oh, no, sir! when I shall be Prime Minister of England (pray don't laugh), I will "*take order*," that no internal regulations of General JACKSON shall disturb all the mighty pecuniary affairs of this kingdom; shall add a third to the real amount of the interest paid to the fundholder; shall really violate all contracts for time between man and man; shall make bonds, jointures, settlements, legacies, quite other things than those which they were intended to be; shall make the mortgager pay to the mortgagee a third more than he has contracted to pay: I will take care that these things shall not be after I become Prime Minister; and if Sir ROBERT PEEL does not take care of the same sort, and to the same extent, my opinion is that he will not only soon cease to be Prime Minister, but that he will be *the last Prime Minister* that we shall have under this form of things. I was surprised to hear you talk about the "*speculation in pepper*," being the "*most feasible*" cause of the panic of 1825-6! *Pepper*, sir! I could hardly believe my eyes; but really, if you do believe this, and if the Tories believe the same, the bottomless pit is open before them. One night, in the House of Commons, Sir ROBERT PEEL, waving his hand across the table, and looking at the Treasury bench, said: "*Between me and office I see 'a great gulf.'*" It was impossible, of course, not to think of DIVES and LAZARUS, and to substitute the bosom of Lord ALTHORP for that of father ABRAHAM; and, sir, confining ourselves to this side of the grave, better to him would have been the lot of DIVES than to be in his present situation, and entertain the monstrously absurd opinion, that "*a failure of a speculation in pepper*" was the most feasible cause of the panic of 1825-6!

Why, sir, I *myself* caused that panic to come some months sooner than it would have come; and is it not criminal in a minister not to have known this; and, knowing it, ought he not to be

punished in the most severe manner for attempting to uphold a system that lays a whole kingdom like this open to the danger of being troubled for one single half minute by a private individual, who is worth little more, perhaps, than the clothes upon his back, and the bed that he lies upon? You, sir, have always discovered a virtuous dislike of this system; at least, you have as far as my observation has gone; but it is clear from the "speculation in pepper," that you do not know its history, which, therefore, I will give you the history of the concern since *I took it in hand*.

In 1804, when Mr. PITT was Minister and the debt *four hundred* millions and a little more perhaps, I, in a letter to Mr. PITT, first proved that the paper-money was depreciated; then proved that his sinking fund was a bubble; then besought him to raise the supplies out of a tax on the interest of the debt; then told him, that even *complete triumph in war, would not save the higher orders in England, unless this debt were put an end to in time*. Look into the *Register*, sir, much about thirty years ago, and there you will find this letter; and divers letters to the gaping Richmond-park ADDINGTON, to somewhat the same amount; and you will also find that the profligate SHERIDAN said, in the House of Commons, that the Government ought to *prosecute me* for promulgating those opinions.

In 1806 and 1807, under the title of *FATE OF THE FUNDS*, I was still more elaborately urgent upon this important matter.

In 1814 and 1815, during the agitation of the question of the Corn Bill, *I protested against the Corn Bill*, as a thing of *no use* to the land, and a source of *discontent to the manufacturing part* of the nation; and again showed that the real remedy, and only remedy, and only means of safety to the orders of the state, was a reduction of the interest of the debt.

In 1818, Mr. TIERNEY had urged, in the House of Commons, the passing of a bill like that which was afterwards passed under the name of PEEL'S BILL,

I, then in exile to avoid the dungeons of CASTLEREAGH and SIDMOUTH, addressed a letter to TIERNEY, proving to him, that, if *such a bill were passed*, and persevered in, without tax-reducing measures, England must be *convulsed*, and that the end must be a change, destructive, in all probability, of all the orders of the state.

In 1819 (*my opinion having been quite sufficient to make them pass just such a bill as I had said would produce these consequences*) PEEL'S BILL was passed by an unanimous and joyous vote of both Houses, followed by an interchange of *congratulations* on the subject by the Speaker and Regent; and, upon my receiving the news of it, I instantly declared, that, if ever that bill were carried into *full effect*, I would suffer myself to be broiled on one of CASTLEREAGH'S broadest gridirons, while SIDMOUTH stirred the coals, and while CANNING stood by making a jest of my groans.

In 1822 came out the one-pound notes again, and away went the bill.

In 1823 came the NORFOLK PETITION, praying for an equitable adjustment, in order that the affair might be justly settled, and that the constitution might be saved from destruction.

In 1823, the one-pound notes having produced *prodigious "prosperity"*; that prosperity having been ascribed by the then Mr. ROBINSON (now Lord RIPON) to the *wisdom and energy* of an *unreformed* Parliament; and he having described me, amongst others, as a "*wild dreamer*" for wanting to *reform so wise and efficient* a House: thus provoked, I said, in the *Register* (February 1824): "Now, mind, ignorant and insolent man, I tell you that, *before this day two years*, your banks will blow up, and your prosperity will be blown to the devil." The banks blew up *in a year and eight months from that day*; but not, Mr. Standard, by the combustible force of a "*speculation in pepper*"! The gold began to leave the country early in 1825. Its departure became very rapid by the month of May. In June the train of blowing-up had been laid by prosperity ROBINSON very com-

pletely. It wanted only the match, and that match was furnished by Mr. JONES, a zealous Radical of BRISTOL, who went to a banker's to demand gold for forty pounds in the banker's notes. The banker refused payment in gold, and offered him payment in Bank of England notes. Mr. JONES wrote to me. I darted off to BRISTOL; brought back Mr. JONES's petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the matter; sent down a writ at the same time, to arrest the banker for the debt. The petition was presented, though after a great difficulty; out came all the story; and the whole country now learnt, for the first time, that they *had a right to demand gold*, and to refuse Bank of England notes; on came the PANIC, and away went the banks; the "speculation" never having been heard of from the first to the last.

In 1826, when the law under which we are now staggering along, was passed, I petitioned the House of Commons, expressing my thanks to them for having determined to abolish the one-pound notes in England; but beseeching them at the same time, to *reduce the amount of the taxes*; concluding my petition in somewhat these words; "for, your humble petitioner knows, as well as he knows that fire burns, that, if the present law be carried into effect, with the present amount of taxation, this kingdom will have to undergo such trouble and such suffering, as were never before experienced by any country in the world."

I, sir, whose petition upon this occasion, and whose representations and supplications upon all former occasions, had been received by the aristocracy, and especially by the clergy, with affected contempt, and with real deadly hatred, of their author; I, sir, might laugh in the midst of these troubles and these sufferings which are now come upon the country; and I will not, especially after the hootings and howlings and triumphings of the 16. of May, 1833, say that I see them with sorrow; for I really do not; and, I shall now watch to see whether the aristocracy

and clergy, when at their wit's end, will still treat me with opprobrium, instead of listening to my advice; but, for you, sir, who have not these causes of resentment, and this source of satisfaction, it is as well for you to see the thing in the true light; and if you do see it in the true light, you will see that neither Whig nor Tory can proceed much further in an attempt to raise fifty millions of taxes a year, with wheat at five shillings a bushel, without plunging the country into that state of confusion, which you appear so much to dread.

7. That such an event would inflict as great sufferings upon the poor as upon the rich, or greater; because industry is *protected* by the *security of property*; and every poor man ought to know, that he would *lose even the fruit of his labour*, if the property of the rich and the great were destroyed.

8. That, though absolute chaos did not come, in 1825, many thousands of families sunk into almost a want of bread and cheese, and of food coarse enough to suit the regimen prescribed by the Martineau school of politicians.

Mr. STANDARD, how came you to name Mother MARTINEAU! Unless, indeed, you could have told us, at the same time, that the Duke of WELLINGTON and Sir ROBERT PEEL, without whose cordial support, the Mother Martineau bill never could have passed, had had the good sense and the resolution to confess that they were misled into a support of that bill, and that they intended to repeal it? Mother MARTINEAU is a poor gossiping creature, vain of talking nonsense, because it appears to her to be something new, and because it gets her something in the way of pelf at the same time. Her consultations with the *homme de lettres et avocat* were things to laugh at, until moulded into a real downright revolutionary measure, supported by the hero of STRATHFIELDSAY, and the millionaire of TAMWORTH. Then they became serious things: then they became a line of demarcation: then they cried "war to the cottage": then, at

any rate, they decided me, never again, with tongue, or pen, to utter one word more than law compelled me to utter, in support of the aristocracy, or the church. Ah, sir! Here it was, that the Lords and the Tories *missed* it. The people had seen the Whigs pass the bill, in spite of all our strenuous exertions against it: they knew how the people hated it: they knew that they should make sure of the people by rejecting the bill: and yet they supported it: and passed it; and that, too, with the declaration of Lord ALTHORP, that, "he must be a bold man that would bring that bill in again"! When I, seeing that the bill would pass the Commons, exclaimed, "Thank God, we have yet a House of Lords, and just such a House of Lords as we now stand in need of"! I cannot say, that I had any thing amounting to a hope, that they would take the hint. At any rate, they despised my warning: and *be the consequence theirs!* If you, sir, could have seen Mr. CHETWYND, last night, dined with the indignant reproaches of the electors of STAFFORD, they having accused him of having voted for the Poor-law Bill, and having called upon me (who was present) as a witness to the fact; if Sir ROBERT PEEL could have seen that gentleman, at that moment, never would he expect the "pressure from without" to cease, as long as that bill should remain in existence. It was your most able writings *against that bill*, which first excited my admiration of your talents; and it was your having discovered that the present Ministers meant to enforce it, and to keep on penny-a-line CHADWICK in the business; it was this sad discovery, and another or two of the same cast, that made you *begin to fear that the Whigs would return to power*; aye, and return they will, and they will repeal the bill, I'll warrant them.

You tell us, sir, that the canceling of the debt would produce dreadful ruin; and that even the PANIC reduced thousands of families to the utmost want, though by no means squandering, gambling, or improvident persons. Could it do more in this way than

PEEL's Bill has done? Hundreds of thousands of the most virtuous and frugal families have been brought from competence, and some from opulence, down to the poor-house, by that bill, and by other measures growing out of it, in which measures, also, Sir ROBERT PEEL was a partaker. More than a hundred thousand farmers and their families have been brought down to sheer poverty and servitude, by that bill. The work of confiscation is still silently going on, against farmers, traders, gentlemen; and this is now to be pushed along by the very man who was the first author of it! He will not push it on far, be you well assured, sir. Is nobody to be thought of but the usurers? Is the labourer to be pinched, to keep the usurers up with double pay? Are millions to suffer for years, because *one man will not unsay his blunders?* Oh, no! the people will try the Whigs again: nothing worse can come than a man resolved to push on this system of injustice; this system, too, which constantly keeps the whole frame of the Government in such a state, that it may be totally destroyed in one single half hour. Talk of the "*sacredness of property*," indeed! In a state like that which we are in, there is no such thing as property of any sort, *without money*, an universally acknowledged measure of value. There is no property at all; for as to *barter*, what has the working man to barter but the fruit of his fists, or of his cudgel? Now, then, do you, who are so much in dread of a canceling of the public debt, know that it can be canceled at any moment, by the mere motion, the mere assembling together of fifty thousand men in Kent, in Essex, in Surrey, or in Sussex? Do you not perceive the effect that that would have in London; the effect that it would have upon *the Bank*? And, sir, would not this be a great deal worse than even the *canceling* of the debt by act of Parliament? And is it not the very first duty of every Minister, and of every Member of Parliament too, to endeavour to render so terrific an effect *impossible*? And *impossible* it never can be rendered, as long as the debt

shall exist to any thing like its present amount.

What! sir; if the King were told, "Here is a thing, may it please your Majesty, existing in your dominions, in consequence of the existence of which, it is possible, that your Majesty's throne may be overturned in an hour"; would he not say, "Put an end, somehow or other, to the existence of that thing, as quickly as possible"? Well, then, that thing does exist; and it exists, too, remember, in company with the POOR-LAW BILL! Sir Robert Peel talks, and you talk, about the "intelligence of the country, and of a reliance" upon that. Let him rely upon it: let him continue to insinuate that the working people are a senseless rabble, and want to destroy all property; let him rely upon the "intelligence." The "intelligence" will give him his reward I'll warrant it. He never heard the petitioners for parliamentary reform propose to *bundle out the bishops*, or to *reform the Peers*: that was reserved for the "intelligence." While the Tories were struggling for a higher qualification to vote, I, in a letter addressed to the House of Lords, told them, that they had no real friends on earth; no reliance for support except upon the unambitious working people, who, as naturally as the sparks fly upwards, would look upon them as their protectors, and who would protect them against their foes; but that they, in their wisdom, having decided otherwise, must take their chance and keep their coronets and estates as long as they could. Nothing in this world would be more easy than to settle all quietly, and make all safe; but the die now seems to be cast the other way: the Poor-law Bill seems to have been the last throw, and to have been destined to decide the game, and that, too, without the possibility of carrying its own provisions into effect! You take great pains, sir, to represent to us the horrors of a civil war; and you tell us, that the poor man must suffer as much, or more, than the rich. What, then, do you think that he will come lower than to potatoes and salt? Can

anything worse befall him than *coarser food*; than Parson LOWE's workhouse; than the workhouse dress; than the separation of husband from wife, and children from both; than the being cut off from all communication with friends and relations; than seeing his dead wife or child "*disposed of*" by the hired overseer for dissection? Can any state of things arise to make his situation worse than this? The church, you are afraid, is in danger! The church, sir, why then the church-service too; and do you know that the Bishop of London, who was also one of the *Poor-law Commissioners*, was one of the supporters of the DEAD BODY BILL? Do you know, that the "*BURIAL OF THE DEAD*" is one of the principal services of the church? You know, I suppose, that a body that is hacked to pieces by a parcel of surgeons has not Christian burial; and, if Christian burial be of "*NO USE*," why is there a burial service? And why do the parsons receive fees for burying the dead? Why, then, sir, be alarmed about the church? If it be of "*no use*" in this respect, why not the same in other respects?

I admire the sublimity of the horrors, which you set before us as the *infallible* consequences of a blowing up of the funds and paper-money. First, as a matter of course, there must, you tell us, be a "*CIVIL WAR*." For what? Why must there? For *what reason*? Do you believe that the fundholders would sally out armed? And *against whom*; and on *what ground*? Did they do this in *France*? Did they do it in *America*? In each of which countries the paper-money was annihilated in *one day*. Oh, no! There would be great confusion in and about London; but, in every other part of the kingdom, parochial arrangements would instantly be made, for keeping all the people at work, and on good wages; real and moveable property would make voluntary sacrifices most liberally; and, in a month, all would be quiet and right again. The *Poor-law Bill* (if it be pushed on) will have done a great deal to *sour* the working people: but still nothing will make

Englishmen cut each other's throats; and, of that, be you well assured.

What, sir! Do you think that the weaver and the ploughman will become ferocious upon finding that they can have beer at 1½d. a pot instead of 6d.; that they will cut rich men's throats, and plunder their mansions, because the hop, soap, sugar, tea, and tobacco taxes are no longer demanded of them; that they will become tigers, because there is no longer any law to put a workhouse dress upon them, and to separate husband from wife, and both from children; that they will, in short, become savages, because there is no longer any hired overseer to "dispose of their bodies for dissection"?

No, no; you do not think this: you had soared into the regions of poetry, and you will, I am sure, thank me for letting you down again. But, though I am certain that there would be none of the horrors of which you speak, I am by no means insensible to the *ulterior* consequences to the *landholders*; for it is impossible that the ruined fundholders should not obtain *some compensation*; and it would also be *impossible again to tax the labour of the people* to raise the means of making that compensation!

However, let us hope that things will never come to this extremity. Let us hope that the easy and effectual means of prevention will be adopted. If I am not much deceived, you, sir, wish for those means to be adopted as sincerely as I do; and, at any rate, I remain, without affectation,

Your friend

And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I informed you, some days back, that I would order a copy of my little book, entitled a "LEGACY TO LABOURERS; or, what is the right which the Lords, Baronets, and Squires, have to lands in England, more than any other men have to the same lands?" You and Sir ROBERT PEELE are everlastingly talking about the "rights of property," the "inviolability of property," and the "danger to property." Now, sir, here you will find this matter probed to the

very bottom; here you will find what the law of nature, what the law of God, and what the law of this land, say upon this subject; and you will find, too, that while the book is so small as to be within the reach of every journeyman and labourer, it leaves nothing unexplained, which it is necessary for the most learned of men to know about the matter. You will here see the sacredness of property maintained, not by loose declamation and half invective, but by those unerring guides, reason and the laws; and you will also find the same guides dictating to every man who has a conscience within him, to maintain the rights of life, of limb, and of labour. The distance from London; the moving backward and forward from place to place; the inevitable delay in receiving proofs, and returning them to London, have, in spite of the great attention of my printers, prevented this little book from being published at the time that I expected; and now is come the hubbub occasioned by this *most prodigious* dissolution of Parliament, the object of which I cannot, for the soul of me, guess at. However, his Majesty has been so good as to give us a little breathing time after this hubbub shall be over. Time to steady our heads a bit; and, during this interval, namely, on Saturday the 17. of January, the book will be published, bound in leather, price SIXTEEN PENCE, having cost me more labour than a whole volume or two of the *Register*. Lords, baronets, and squires, will not read it, of course; and, as to the members of Parliament, they know too much of the laws of God and man already; and they think more, or, at least, the late members of Parliament did, about keeping the property that they have got, somehow or another, than about their right to it; but, sir, you will read this book; and so will the journeymen and labourers; and so will the tradesmen and the farmers.

TO E. L. BULWER, ESQ., M.P.

Wolseley Hall, Dec. 30, 1834.

SIR,—I have read in a book, of which you are the author, called "*England and the English*," some remarks relative to the Poor-law Amendment Bill, as it is called, and relative to the character of the English working people, and particularly the people of Sussex, which, those remarks having come under my eye, I cannot suffer to remain in print unnoticed by me; and, having observed that the *True Sun* has taken a great number of opportunities to praise this work of yours, through that paper I think it right to convey my remonstrances with you on the subject.

WITH REGARD TO THE POOR-LAW BILL, I have discussed that subject on so many other occasions, that I shall only, in this place, observe, with regard to it, that you not only go the full length in justifying that horrible measure in all its parts, but that you actually boast of being one of the inventors of it; you boast of having submitted your Malthusian doctrines to a person high in power, leaving it to be pretty clearly understood that you mean, the person from whom Sir HERBERT TAYLOR lately received the great seals, and who is now, very appropriately, living amongst the gabbling, filthy, and unfeeling Parisians, signing himself "H. BROUGHAM, *homme de lettres et avocat*." This is enough for me to say on this part of your book; except that I may just add, that I hope, that if you offer yourself for a seat in Parliament again, you will read this part of your book to your intended constituents, as one of the grounds upon which you rest your claim to their votes.

With regard to the character of the working people of England, the passage of your book to which I allude is the one that I am about to quote. In other parts of your book you speak most disparagingly of the working people of England, who, if the world believe you, must be regarded as the most degraded, brutish, and improvident wretches upon the earth; you eulogize the horrible system of Parson Lowe, which, by this

time, the deceived Lord RADNOR repents of having eulogized; you relate as facts, things contained in that book of lies, which Lord ALTHORP, without the King's authority, laid upon the table of the House of Commons, in the first session of the ten-pounder Parliament; and by stealth circulated these lies amongst us, while, from the Government offices, they franked the villainous book to every part of the kingdom. But it is truly curious, that you should have selected, and quoted, as admitted facts, that which is related by the poor-law runner, OKEDEN, when you know, that his report has been proved to be a mass of lies, by the magistrates of Dorsetshire, and particularly by one of the magistrates, who is a clergyman, and who has published an exposure of OKEDEN's lies; and that OKEDEN, in his excuse, has been obliged to throw himself upon *mistake and want of memory*, as to the main part of the charge against him.

In order to give countenance to this horrible law, you draw a contrast between the character of the French working man and the English working man, the latter of whom you hold up to contempt and hatred. I grudge the space that I am here requesting from the Editor of the *True Sun*; but, to avoid the possibility of the charge of misrepresenting you, I must take the whole passage, false, disgusting, and contemptible, as it is: "Riding through Normandy one beautiful Sunday evening, I overheard a French peasant decline the convivial invitation of his companion: 'Why, no, thank you, (said he), I must go to the *guinguette*, for the sake of my wife and the young people, dear souls!' The next Sunday I was in Sussex, and as my horse ambled by a cottage, I heard a sturdy boor, who had apparently just left it, grumble forth to a big boy swinging on a gate, 'You sees to the sow, Jim, there's a good un; I be's jist a gooning to the Blue Lion to get rid o' my missus and the brats, rot 'em!' We see by a comparison with continental nations, that it is by making the Sabbath dull that we make it dangerous."

"Idleness must have amusement or it falls at once into vice; and the absence of entertainments produces the necessity of excess. So few are the harmless pleasures with us on the Sabbath, that a French writer, puzzled to discover any, has called the English Sunday, with a most felicitous *naïveté*, '*Jour qu'on distingue par un POUNDING!*'—Save a pudding he can find no pleasurable distinction for the holiday of the week!"

Now, Mr. BULWER, first as to the fact: the Frenchman, and his "dear souls," must pass, I am afraid, without a feasible proposition for inquiring into the truth of the statement; but with regard to the STURDY BOOR of Sussex, something like proof is within our reach. You "ambled" by the cottage. Was there anybody, besides the unfortunate four-legged animal, ambling by with you? Perhaps not; but you can tell us *what cottage it was*. You remember the spot, undoubtedly, as well as the words of the "BOOR"; and, you so accurately remember the words, and the name of the boy, JIM, that you, doubtless, can remember the spot, and the identical cottage. You are sure that it was the "*Blue Lion*" too. Very well, then; and now let us find out, in the county of Sussex, in the first place a sign of the *Blue Lion*; next a cottage, somewhere, not very far off from the sign of the *Blue Lion*; next proof of the time when you were in Sussex; next a man living in a cottage somewhere near the *Blue Lion*, who at that time kept a sow; and, lastly, let us find that, at that cottage, there was a big boy JIM living. If we do find all these things to have been in Sussex, at the time that you can prove that you were there, then we believe that your story is true; otherwise we must believe that you have grossly libelled the working people of that exemplary county. There is, however, another thing that we must find to be true; and that is, that some man now alive, ever heard a Sussex man say "I be's."

Now, sir, I make you this offer: I will appoint a person, a native of the county of Sussex, who is as good a

scholar as you are, and who is of character and state of life, full as respectable as those that you can have any pretensions to. He shall accompany you, or any Englishman chosen by you, to go and inquire into the above facts, and to make us a report on the same. If you decline this offer, there can be but one opinion as to your veracity in this matter: if you accept of the offer, then, until the inquiry has been completed, our judgment must be suspended. I cannot, however, even here help observing on the strangeness of the circumstance, that the BOOR should have required JIM, who did not belong to his family, to see to the sow; for, if JIM had been his own son, he would not have told him that he was going to get rid "*o' my missus*"; but of your mother; and then it would have read thus: "I be's jist gooing to the *Blue Lion* to get rid of your mother and the brats, your brothers and sisters, rot'em!" If JIM were the son of a neighbour, then there comes this monstrous improbability; that a neighbour's son was to see to the sow; that is, to feed her; and he was to go into the house where "my missus and the brats" were, to get the food. Mr. BULWER, another time, when you are libelling the labourers of England, do not say anything about *Jims* or *Blue Lions*. Sussex is a good wide space, but there must be a *Blue Lion*; that *Blue Lion* is a fixture; and to that *Blue Lion* I fix you. However, I wait; and so will a good many of the public wait, to see whether you accept of my offer.

With regard to the nasty gabbling French writer, who would seem to ridicule the idea of the working man's Sunday in England being distinguished from the other days, only by his having a pudding for dinner on the Sunday. In the first place, it is a falsehood, and a specimen of that frivolous and contemptible rubbish, which Frenchmen call wit. It is a falsehood; and, if it were not, by what better could the Sunday be distinguished, than the circumstance of its being habitual with the working people to have the best dinner of the week on that day, when all the family are at home; a circumstance not

much in accordance with your tale about the "BOOR" and *Jim* and the "brats" and the "*Blue Lion*."

Now, then, let us see what is the true character of the working people of England, whether in town, or in country. Is there one man out of one hundred, who has a wife and children, who does not take delight, in a town, to take that wife and children out walking of a Sunday? I lived several years at KENSINGTON, one of the great outlets of London; and it used to be one of the great pleasures of us, and of our friends who visited us, to sit at the windows and behold, in the summer evenings, the innumerable working men going by into town from the country, with their wives and children. The mother carrying the smallest in her arms; the father with the next smallest, and each of them leading, perhaps, one by the hand. And is it not the same at BIRMINGHAM, at MANCHESTER, at LEEDS, at NEWCASTLE, at BRISTOL, at BATH, in short, everywhere, from London, down to the smallest villages? And, as to the country people, is it not notorious, that excessive fondness of their children, and their indulgence to them, is their invariable character. It is the same generally in all the towns; and as to wives, in what country upon earth are they treated as they ought to be, except in England, in the United States of America, and in English settlements? Who ever saw an Englishman; who ever saw one of those BOORS, that you have the rudeness to call them, sit and smoke his pipe, or stand by, and see a woman lifting heavy lifts, carrying heavy loads, or performing any rough or nasty work; and who ever saw a German or Frenchman who would not sit, or stand by? Look at the women of Sussex; and then look at those of France! Look at the delicacy, the modesty, the cleanliness of the former; and then see the coarse, the leather-faced, the grimy-fisted, the gabbling Frenchwoman, coming ten miles to market, with the load of a jackass upon her back; and see her in that marketplace *doing that*, even while she is *talking with men*, at the very thought of

being compelled to imitate which, a Sussex woman would die. I have seen Frenchwomen too; and have seen their lazy husbands sitting with a pipe in their jaws, while their wives were working like slaves. I have seen scores of women at different times, quit the arms of their husbands, or of young men, in order to perform in their presence, and in the presence of scores of people, walking along the ramparts of St. OMERS, those acts rather than perform which, under such circumstances, even a profligate English woman would rather suffer death.

In conclusion, one word as to that improvidence and laziness, which you prefer against the working people of England generally. As to their improvidence, I will be bound to say, that upon this very estate of Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY, there are amongst the working people, a greater quantity of providence, neatness, sedulous care of children, than are to be found in the whole of that famous Normandy, of which you speak; and which is, by-the-by, far the best, in this respect, of the whole of the provinces of France. But what need we more than this one fact, that we read in the advertisements of the hotel-keepers at PARIS, that their hotels are furnished with "*COMMODITÉS A L'ANGLAISE*"; that is to say, with "*privies in the English fashion*." What do we want more than this as a characteristic of the whole country, and of the whole continent, indeed, as compared with England? The truth is, that as to all the places, except these hotels, which English people pay for, there is no such thing as decent reserve with regard to these matters: and yet this is the country which you are holding up to the imitation of England. This is the country which you would have us look to for an improvement of our laws, customs, and manners.

But, sir, there is a short way to go to work with you. You justify the inhuman rigours of the Poor-law Bill, upon the ground that the working people of England are improvident and lazy. Now, then, does not England far exceed all the whole world united, in

manufactures of all sorts? Is there any other country containing a BIRMINGHAM, a MANCHESTER, a LEEDS, a SHEFFIELD? Are not these the just pride of England, and the wonder of the whole world? Is there any other country with canals to go under mountains, and to go under turnpike roads? Is there any other country where railroads and steam-carriages are to be seen? Are we not everlastingly boasting of these wondrous works? Is there any other country with homesteads, mansions, gardens, woods, such as are seen in England? Are there post-chaises and coaches worthy of the name in any other country in the world? Does any other country present, and in such numbers, such bridges, churches, and cathedrals? Talk of the vineyards of France and the beautiful climate; but let it be recollected, that the *grapes* to furnish the dessert at the coronation of the King of France (Charles the Tenth) were sent from England. In short, we know, and all the world knows, that there is no other country, of ten times its size, that contains as much of *valuable things* as England contains. And, who has made it all? All except the earth itself, has been made by the hand of man; and not by men that dress in fine clothes, and talk, and write. Some of them, indeed, have had their share in inventing and directing; but the things have all been created by those who work with their hands: and even those who have invented and directed, have sprung from those who work with their hands.

And is it not being pretty impudent to call the English working people *boorish*, *improvident*, and *lazy*; and to justify the passing of a law to deprive them of assistance in case of hard necessity, except upon condition, that men would die rather than submit to? I leave the public to answer this question, and

I am your most humble

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT'S LETTER TO MR. GRAY, OF CHICHESTER.

*Wolseley Hall (Staffordshire),
Dec. 28, 1834.*

DEAR SIR,—Your letter got to Bolt-court the day after it was written; that is to say, the 27. instant; it was opened there by the person who keeps the shop. It was shown to my son John, as being nearest at hand of any son of mine. It was determined by him, in consequence of the time that it would have taken to obtain an answer from me, to go down to Chichester at once, and to offer himself; which he was fully authorized to do, I having recommended him to the people of Coventry at the last election for that place.

It has been matter of wonder with many persons, that I have not, upon this occasion, urged on different bodies of electors to choose my own sons, of three of whom I can say (the other being articulated to an attorney), that I know of no three men so sober; so capable of discharging great masses of business; writers so quick, and so correct, and so well stored with knowledge as to the continental nations, as well as England, as these three sons. This is a great deal to say; but I see no reason for suppressing the truth with regard to them, because they are my sons.

Well, then, why have I not put them forward upon this occasion? Why, it seems like asking a favour; and I have not been accustomed to ask favours. Then, there is always a jealousy in such cases: there is always a sort of feeling that you are seeking for some gratification of your own. And, besides this, there is the just pride of the sons themselves, neither of whom would submit to ask favours any more than the father would. The father has been, in fact, proscribed, and the proscription descends to the sons.

These are the reasons why I have not put them forward. I know well what would be the effect of my having my sons, William, John, and James, in Parliament with me; young men, well read in all the laws; well acquainted with the nations on the conti-

ment; excellent French scholars; but, of still greater value, born and brought up in the country; intimately acquainted with all rural and parochial affairs; and, above all, having sucked in with their mother's milk right notions regarding the value of the working people; and I am sure that there is not one of them who would not perish rather than leave undone any thing in his power to sweep from the Statute Book the horrible Poor-law Bill.

Sir, this is a true description of these gentlemen. If the people of Chichester should choose one of them, I shall consider it a great compliment to myself: but I shall value it still more as something done for my country in general, and for the people of the excellent city of Chichester in particular. The fact is, that all three of these sons ought to be chosen as members of Parliament, at the ensuing election; and ought to be so chosen without any application from me. I destined them all for farmers; but they were swept away, along with me, from that spot where I fondly hoped that they were to live all their lives. I was dragged back again to undergo fine, imprisonment, exile, pecuniary ruin, over and over again. They had to follow my fortunes; but, being constantly with me, till they were approaching towards mature age; having before them such an example of sobriety, of industry, of gaiety, amidst all sorts of troubles and privations; living amidst books and writings and publishings; never seeing an hour spent in playing cards or idleness of any kind, they could not well be other than learned and able men, being blessed with sound minds in sound bodies. In short there they are, always ready, I am sure, to act with zeal, industry, and disinterestedness, with which their father has laboured; if their country call on them, I am sure they will obey the call to the utmost of their power; if it do not call on them, I shall never advise them to thrust themselves forward to ask for seats in Parliament as a favour.

To the people of Chichester, who agree with you, as to this matter, I beg

leave to present my best thanks. I never forget the great kindness with which I have always been treated at Chichester; and, if the people should choose my son as a member to represent them in Parliament, they will, I am quite sure, find, that no temptation will ever induce him to depart, for one instant, from the principles, in which he has been bred up; and which are those of the constitution of England, as that constitution was, at the time when their father was born; they well understanding all the monstrous encroachments, which, since that time, have been made upon that constitution.

I beg you to accept of my best and kindest regards; and to be assured that I always remain

Your faithful

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Mr. James Gray, Chichester.

SPIES, AND POOR-LAW BILL.

IN another part of the *Register*, I have inserted an account of the whole of the trial of RICHMOND, who, as appears from his own acknowledgment, was a paid spy in Scotland. The trial is *very interesting*, and should be read by every body that can get an opportunity of reading it; but this is by no means all; for this very fellow, RICHMOND, was one of the principal evidences produced by the poor-law-commissioners to *justify the passing of the Poor-law Bill!* Reader, read this trial? read the history of this man. Then see this man become *one of the guardians of the poor*, in the great parish of St. Luke, London. Do, pray, read the history of this man in this trial; then see him a witness in support of the Poor-law Bill; and bear in mind, that the churchwardens and overseers of his parish most satisfactorily *proved* his evidence to be false; and it is a bill, passed upon evidence like this, that Sir ROBERT PEELE and his set are going to keep in force, and to thrust on into execution, under the guidance of penny-a-line CHADWICK. Poh! what! is this one

of the "*institutions of the country*," too? Are *spies* and the Poor-law Bill "*institutions of the country*"? Poh! Let the Whigs and Tories toss up who shall be Ministers: the people need not care a straw about the matter. All that we have to do is, to look quietly on, and see the debt and the bushel of wheat take their course!

THE following article I take from the *Standard* of the 29. Dec. I have made my remarks upon it at full length, in the first part of the *Register*; and I am sure the reader will be obliged to me for giving him an opportunity of reading it.

Mr. Cobbett, in the letter with which he has honoured this journal, and to which we alluded on Saturday, commences with the following paragraph:

"Sir,—From an article which appeared in your paper of the 17. instant, it would seem that you are a good deal *frightened*. You do indeed set out in a rather easy and bold tone; you give us a list of the new Ministry, making a rather formidable array, but you immediately afterwards fly off into speculations as to the horrors which will take place, *if the Whigs should get back again into power*; as if, with Macbeth, you were saying to yourself, 'Take any shape but that.'

"Very hideous I must confess, sir; but may I be so bold as to ask *what it is* that can have brought the frightful image into your mind? *What it is* that can have made you think such a thing possible? Then come some very grave observations as to the *consequences* of so untoward an event. You give us a long list of revolutionary movements, ending with the overthrow of the church, the nobility, and even of the throne. You frighten me half to death; but upon recovering my breath again, I ask myself *What it is* that can have given you reason to fear the possibility of the arrival of such dreadful

evils? And then immediately that brings me back again to the question, *what is it* that can have made you suppose it possible that the Whigs can return to power? Having hardly had time to put this question to myself, and pushed forward by my anxiety to know the worst that is to befall us, I find the picture of horrors wound up by a description of the *danger to property*, and especially the danger to property in the *funds*.

"So, so," said I to myself, "is that all? &c."

That twelve days ago we were frightened, if Mr. Cobbett will have the word, we do not pretend to disguise; that we still feel some, though much less, alarm at the possible restoration of a Whig administration, we will even confess also. In both cases, however, our alarm was, and is produced, much less by the imminency of the danger, or even its probable arrival, than by its tremendous magnitude. Mr. Cobbett is aware that a great, though improbable calamity, will often terrify one much more than a less and even certain mischief. "If" (says Dr. Johnson) "ten thousand men" were to be sure that one of their "number, taken by lot, must be hanged the following morning, few, if any of them, would enjoy a quiet night's sleep."

Here, though the chances are ten thousand to one against the arrival of the danger, its awful extent supplies the want of probability. Now, this is just our state with respect to a restoration of the Whigs to office. We believe the event extremely improbable, but we know that it would lead to the ruin of the nation; a ruin in which all our own comforts, and enjoyments, and prospects, for we do not disguise a selfish feeling, would suffer in the direct ratio of our humility. Before going farther, however, let us correct a misapprehension of our meaning, we are sure it is no more, into which Mr. Cobbett has fallen. "What," asks the member for Oldham, "is it that can have made you suppose it possible that the Whigs can return to power?" We did not, and we do not, suppose it

possible that the Whigs can return to power. They cannot *return* to power; for, of independent power they never were in possession; they can, however, return to office, though the possibility is, we hope, a very remote one. They can return to office; this is what they seek; and they are willing to take office with its emoluments and patronage, even upon the condition of serving as the passive instruments of those who, assuredly, would carry into effect all the changes which we, at least, regard as the greatest political evils, and to ourselves and to our rank, and to all below that rank, if any are, as the greatest of temporal private calamities. This explanation will, we think, reconcile the apparent inconsistency (alluded to in another part of his letter by Mr. Cobbett) of our late, we may add of our present, contempt of the Whigs, properly so called, with the admitted possibility of this most despicable party's resumption of place. We know the perfect impotence of that party, either to gain or to defend the heights of office by their own unassisted exertions; but, having seen them for four years secured in the administration of the Government by another party, and seeing that other party now straining every nerve to replace their tools, we cannot shut our eyes against the possibility that they who have defended the Whigs, so long and so effectually, against what we believe to be the sense of the country, and against what we know to be its vital interests, may, through neglect or relaxation, or error, on the side of those who ought to oppose them, obtain another victory.

We see before us two parties, the one utterly destitute of character and talent; wholly vacant of political principle of any kind, sordid and complying even to servility; need we say that we are describing the Whigs? Behind this party we see another, possessing vast talent, almost irresistible energy, a straightforward singleness of purpose, that, if its object were good, might be called noble—that in any case cannot be considered base. We see this second party able, bold, and peremptory, fa-

natically bent upon revolution; and with the terrible disinterestedness of fanaticism, willing to resign to their degraded pioneers, all the plunder of office, provided only that they themselves can advance, by the aid of these degraded pioneers, to a revolutionary triumph. These allies are now embodied in indissoluble union: is there nothing, then, to alarm a man of even firm nerves, in the march of such an array? Can we hope, successfully, to oppose the attack of such a force, if we are supine, indifferent, or doubtful?

We hope that we have answered Mr. Cobbett's question, "What it is which makes us suppose it possible that the Whigs can return to office?" In order to remove, as far as we may, one of the chief grounds of this frightful possibility, we will now address ourselves to the danger itself—to the danger of a restoration of the Whigs to office. A Roman writer, Sallust, who lived in the most tempestuous period of his country's history, who, probably, saw more of the alternations of factious rule than was ever seen by a man of any other generation, has bequeathed this maxim to posterity; "the place of command (*imperium*) can be preserved only by a perseverance in those arts by which it is acquired." If the Whigs are now restored to place, they will be restored solely by that faction, upon which they themselves have fixed the merited nickname of "Destructive." Restored, however, by the Destructive faction, we know by the maxim quoted, we know much better by their own more recent practice, they must conduct the government conformably to the views of their Destructive allies. They must carry into full effect every *item* of that commination of ruinous changes which we have laid before our readers.

To one *item* of these changes Mr. Cobbett makes allusion—the canceling of the public debt; but this, though certainly not the last, would probably not be the first of the exploits of a Whig Government, acting by favour of Destructive support, and by consequence acting upon Destructive principles. It would probably be preceded by the

destruction of the church, by a civil war arising out of an attempt to exclude the aristocracy from their present place in the constitutional sovereignty. Civil war would, probably, be the plausible pretext for canceling the debt; if not, civil war would certainly be its instant consequence! Yes, a great destruction of property, whether substantial property, or artificial property, never yet occurred in a nation, except as the consequence of civil war—or, if not—as the parent of a state of universal misery and despair from which men must seek refuge in indiscriminate confusion and mutual slaughter.

In another article of Friday's *Register*, Mr Cobbett warns us personally, that "a man who has nothing to live on but his pen, must resolve to live upon bread and cheese, and small beer, or at least to be able to live upon bread and cheese, and small beer; or to give up all hopes of obtaining honest fame." But we trust that even "the man who has nothing to live on but his pen," may be found to whom living upon bread and cheese, and small beer, would be no hardship, and who is yet influenced by motives compared with which fame of any kind, fame in its most alluring shape, would be an object of contempt. *Contemptu famæ contemni et virtutem* was a fine saying for a Pagan; but we have better lights; and, in any case, the anonymous writer for a daily newspaper must shake hands with the whole family of ambitious feelings. Unknown, he cannot be the object of fame; voluntarily enrolled in a degraded caste (unwisely degraded, we think, but so it is), he renounces all the other baits of ambition with his eyes open. We come back, however, to the motives of a more worldly kind, which may be supposed to influence even the man who must live by his pen, and who does not look for luxuries beyond bread and cheese, and small beer, and nevertheless would devote every faculty of his mind to protect property from destruction. We select this particular class as representing all honest, modest, unambitious men, who are contented to live by their labour, whether that

labour be exercised by a goose-quill, or a spade, a saw, or a trowel, a shuttle, or an anvil. These men, we say, are all interested in the protection of property, in a degree not inferior to that in which the legal possessor is interested. Such men, if they are wisely obedient to the laws of God and Nature, have families dependent upon them for daily bread; families, any member of which they could not see, without pain, in want of food, even for a day; still less condemned to a condition of future life inferior to that in which they have been brought up. This is the great advantage which we have above the nobility and landed gentry. Each of them rears a family, one member alone of whom can maintain his father's rank. We, while the channels of industry are protected by the security of property, may trust, under God's providence, that all our children will at least stand in our own rank—we may hope that some of them may rise above it. This is an advantage little thought of, but it is an advantage which will teach every father, at once wise and affectionate, not to envy the condition of the great. This advantage, however, and every other which the poor man possesses, is put in peril by any great convulsion of property, and is sure to be swallowed up in that civil war which, we repeat it, is inseparable on one side or the other, from such convulsions.

A correspondent, whose letter we insert, and who seems to think with Mr. Cobbett, that a canceling of the debt would be a good thing, proves how lamentably ignorant even acute men may be, as to the necessary effect of such a measure. Our correspondent seems to think that the effect of canceling of hundreds of millions of debt—of the annihilation of hundreds of millions of what is supposed to be property, and what indeed serves all the purposes of property, would stop with the number of actual stockholders; he forgets the millions of their creditors, the millions of their servants, the millions of their tradesmen, the millions who have money invested in insurances, savings banks, and annuities. He forgets that a can-

celing of the debt would even press upon the debtors of the stockholders. We have no measure by which to estimate the effect of the convulsion of which Mr. Cobbett and our correspondent make so light; because no people ever yet existed in a state of commercial society so complicated and artificial as ours; but we can make some approaches to an estimate by recalling the scenes of 1825 and 1830. In the first of these years, a cause so trifling, that it is not yet ascertained what that cause was, inflicted a wound upon commercial credit, that was felt in every cottage in the kingdom. What,

"If the breath that kindled these grim fires,"
in which so many noble establishments were consumed,

"Awaked, had blown them into sevenfold
rage!"

What, if instead of the failure of a speculation in pepper, the most feasible cause of the panic of 1825, a national bankruptcy had been proclaimed; if, instead of supporting private establishments, as public credit did support them, the failure of that buttress had given the first notice of the ruin, what would have been then, the chaos of destruction? Many who lived by their pens, even in that year of comparatively trifling calamity, found it difficult, we can assure Mr. Cobbett, to procure even bread and cheese, and small beer, for their families. Many, very many cases have come to our own knowledge of families sinking, in that year; steps which they have never since recovered. They were not those idle men; they were no speculators, no gamblers; men contented with bread and cheese, and small beer; many such men we have known, who, more than participating in the losses of customers and employers, and debtors, have descended from even bread and cheese and small beer, to a kind of food coarse enough to suit the regimen prescribed by the Martineau school of politicians. The agitation of 1830-31, produced the same mischiefs, though in a less degree; but how can we compare these inflictions, or any thing like them, with the over-

whelming scourge of national bankruptcy! The loss of property to an individual may be an inferior calamity, because the insulated loss may invite sympathy and aid from those who do not suffer, and must if it be insulated, still allow to the sufferer the opportunity of restoring himself by exerting his strength, or his talents, or his skill, in the service of others who can pay for their exercise. But the loss of property to a whole people, is a calamity wholly without the hope of solace or relief; a calamity not inferior to pestilence or famine, and one which universally leads to, if it does not spring from, civil war! And what is civil war? May we take the blood shed in the field, or on the scaffold, the time wasted in cruelty and pursuit of the vengeance, or the property submitted to the flames, as a just index of the horrors of civil war? Ah! no; a wise man presents traits of civil war far more terrible than these. He tells us that "they who fall in civil war, in civil war are the happiest." The full cup of bitterness is reserved for the beggared victors, the beggared vanquished, and the beggared neutrals, down, aye to the poor ground labourer, driven, like Virgil's husbandman, even from his poor cottage, by the rude intruding soldier. These are the deep enduring temporal calamities attending civil war. But deeper calamities than these follow; the moral depravation of the people. We learn, from the authority already quoted, Plutarch, and the history of 1600 years and more verifies the maxim, "no good man prospers, few good men escape in times of civil discord." In such times ambition, the desire of gain, worldly prudence, and even the pursuit of safety, are all enlisted on the side of vice. Civil war is the discipline of Satan. And are we to incur the possible risk of all these horrors, for the sake of speculative changes? Are we to be told that in deprecating such a risk, we have no better motive than the desire to improve upon a diet of bread and cheese, and small beer? We think our readers will come to a different conclusion. We think that they will see, with us, that

there is no escape from a palsy upon the industry of the country; from a convulsion of property and from a civil war, except in the steady exclusion of Whig administration. If they trace selfishness among our motives, and idoubtless they will find it among them, that selfishness will be seen to be merely the instinctive sense of danger which Providence has mercifully bestowed upon all animals down to the very lowest, to serve not only as a protection to the individual, but a means of warning to all of the same species.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH.

At the Mansion-House, 23. Dec. 1834.

Sir R. PEEL rose, and spoke to the following effect:—"Although the Lord Mayor has mentioned my name in particular, in conjunction with the rest of his Majesty's Ministers, I am relieved from that embarrassment which, on occasions such as this, generally accompanies the mention of an individual name, for I am convinced I should greatly mistake the object and under-rate the importance of this meeting if I thought it was intended merely for the purpose of marking respect and consideration for any person, however high my public station. I cannot, therefore allege as an excuse for the imperfect expression of my acknowledgments to this great assembly that I am overwhelmed by the force of personal feelings. I believe your object to be, in a crisis of great importance, to convey to the King that his Majesty, having exercised a high prerogative of the Crown, according to the forms and the spirit of the constitution, will receive a constitutional support from a great body of the King's subjects, remarkable for their *intelligence*, remarkable for their *respectability* and *wealth*, remarkable for the deep interest which they take in the *welfare of the country*. Your object also is, I trust and believe, to animate and encourage in the performance of their *arduous* duty those Ministers who have been the objects of the King's choice, and have not shrunk from the

responsibility of office. We are neither assembled for the purpose of compliment nor for the purpose of celebrating a party triumph. (Hear, hear). I believe that your feelings, if I have correctly interpreted them, are in strict consonance with the feelings entertained by a great proportion of the *intelligence* of this country. (Cheers). It is impossible to deny that, since the important events which have taken place within the last six week, there has been a state of *calm and tranquillity* in the country—a calm and tranquillity which, after the political excitement that had prevailed, could not well have been anticipated. I do not mistake the character of that state of calm and tranquillity. I do not construe it into an indifference to public affairs, into a lazy acquiescence in any Government that the King may be pleased to form, or any measures which that Government may propose. On the contrary, I feel convinced that this calm and tranquillity is perfectly consistent with the utmost vigilance, and, if necessary, the most determined resolution. (Hear, hear). The present condition of the public mind is no more inconsistent with active motion than the serenity of the ocean is inconsistent with occasional displays of resistless and overwhelming force. (Cheers). I believe that if the public feeling found expression in words it would speak in these or similar terms: '*We are tired of agitation*, (great cheering); we are tired of that state of *continued excitement*, the effect of which in private life is to withdraw men from their proper business, and in public life is to consume the energies of public men on other than their proper duties. *We hate the pressure from without*.' (Loud and protracted cheering, which drowned the conclusion of the sentence). '*We are content* (continued the Right Honourable Baronet) that the *public* will should be expressed *through authorized and constitutional organs*. At the same time we require Government to be administered for the sole purpose of promoting the true interests of this country. (Cheers). We require that there shall be a full and patient consideration of

everything that can be fairly suspected as partaking of the character of abuse, and if after such patient consideration the abuse *be proved*, we require that it shall be corrected, first, from hatred of the abuse; and secondly, from love and respect for those ancient institutions which abuse has the tendency to disfigure and impair. (Cheers). I believe that to be not an incorrect representation of the public feeling, and I also believe that no Government can maintain itself in the public estimation which is not prepared deliberately to act on such principles. (Hear, hear). I am convinced, notwithstanding the manner in which the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown has been received, and although it is the duty of public men to co-operate with the sovereign when they have it in their power to enter into his service without sacrifice of principle, yet that no Government *can stand unless it be supported by public opinion*, and unless its members possess the *public confidence*. (Hear, hear). I do not agree with the views of some persons, who are disposed to overlook the men who constitute a Government, and regard merely the measures they propose. I do not believe that any Government can be stable or permanent which does not possess public confidence. I do not believe that a *cold approbation of measures*, after previous scrutiny, will avail for the support of a Government, without reference to the *heads* which conceived and the *hands* which are to execute those measures. In every department of private life it is upon the confidence we feel in certain individuals that we proceed: it is not this particular act or that, though we may approve its grounds and principles, that ensures our confidence in men, but it is our general reliance in their known integrity and honour that induces us to trust them. In the public service the same principle prevails. In the profession of the law you do not rely upon such eminent individuals as Lord Lyndhurst or Sir James Scarlett merely in reference to some particular act of theirs which you know to be right, but because you feel con-

vinced, by their distinguished eminence and unimpeachable characters, that their decisions will be dictated by sound judgment, and by a sincere determination to do that which they conscientiously believe to be right. The same is the case with respect to acts of military enterprise. I ask you what brought this country to that pinnacle of military glory on which it stood during the last war—what preserved us from the proverbial vicissitudes of fortune? It was not the numbers of our army—it was not the lines established here or the fortifications erected there—it was not mere military skill and conduct that made victory the certain consequence of battle, but it was in conjunction with the native valour of British troops—the confidence *reposed in one magic and immortal name*. (Enthusiastic cheering). It was that feeling, influencing *the lowest soldier*, which inspired into his heart a new energy, and nerved his arm with new vigour. (Cheers). And when the Government of this country was suddenly changed, what was it that *made the whole community acquiesce* with silent approbation in the decision of one man to obey the appeal of his Sovereign, and to fill for a time with his single person the great chasm in the public service of the state? It was not a simple reference to this or that particular act which he might perform, but it was irresistible and spontaneous confidence in his undaunted resolution, and in that pure and disinterested singleness of purpose, (cheers), which led the same man who had shown himself ready in a crisis of extraordinary difficulty to assume power at the command of his Sovereign; which led him, acting solely upon his own suggestion and advice, to relinquish it. (Cheers). Without *confidence in public men*, without confidence in their good intentions, without confidence in their determination to fulfil any promises they may make; without full reliance upon their wish to consult the real and permanent interests of the country, no Government can proceed with success. Appeals to individual acts, cold, formal, acquiescence in mere de-

tails, are not enough. I may undertake to say, on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, that it will be our object to attain and confirm the confidence of the people, not by rash and precipitate pledges for the removal of every thing that may appear at the first superficial and imperfect view to be an evil; not by undertaking to make every concession hastily demanded by popular feeling; not by rashly promising relief from the *pressure of taxation*: but by patient and dispassionate examination into *practical grievances*, and the proposal of remedies maturely considered, and designed less as a gratification of a popular wish, than the safe and permanent redress of a real evil. *I am charged with having offered no particular pledges as to specific measures.* My answer is, 'A month has not yet elapsed since I left Rome: I have within that period travelled from the south of Europe, and reconstructed the King's Government.' But could any thing be more absurd than to pledge the Government to details and particulars which there has yet been *no time to consider*, and in reference to which, if pledges were now offered, we might find ourselves unable to redeem? (Hear, hear). I think it would be neither politic nor just to pursue that course. I think the public opinion to be gained by it scarcely worth having. I have already intimated in a public address to my late constituents the *tone and spirit* of our Government, and I now repeat that the Ministry of which I am one will maintain no abuse under the mistaken notion that it can be for the interest of Government to support it. We will not resist the application of a remedy to any grievance under the mistaken impression that it is not for the interest of Government to conciliate the public feeling by acting for the public good by redress of grievances and correction of abuses as far as possible. (Hear, hear). But I will not, by pledging myself to relieve *particular burdens* or hastily to adopt particular remedies, debar the Government from affording that fair consideration which is due to the claims of all interests, or put out of our power a deliberate appli-

cation of the most efficacious remedies. (Hear, hear). I repeat, possessed as the Ministry are of the entire confidence of the crown, our main object will be to conciliate the good will and secure the confidence of all *that portion* of the community that is most capable of exercising an *enlightened judgment on public affairs*, (hear, hear), convinced, as we are, that they do require the correction of abuses, but wish it to proceed consistently with a respectful maintenance of the integrity and independence of those *institutions* of the country which, in the aggregate, comprise *the ancient established constitution in church and state*. But sure I am that they do not wish our institutions to be corrected at the expense of collision with or a destruction of the independence of any of the established orders of the state. (Hear). If we, in concurrence with *those whose goodwill* and acquiescence it is *desirable* to obtain, and, consistently with the maintenance of the independent action of Lords and Commons, can apply a remedy to existing abuses, such a course will much more tend to the efficiency and permanency and satisfactory working of practical reforms than if they were carried through *menace and clamour*, against the will of those who have a right to be consulted, and whose cordial co-operation is essential to a happy result. (Hear, hear). I conclude by again declaring, that in the execution of our public trust our object will be to conciliate and confirm public confidence, both as the highest reward of public men, and as the most efficacious instrument of good Government. To obtain that confidence will be our earnest hope; second only to that which, even on an occasion like this, it cannot be unbecoming in a Minister of this country to express, *that it may please Almighty God to direct and prosper our consultations to the advancement of true religion, and the safety, honour, and welfare of this great country.*

COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

(London Sittings at *Nisi Prius*, before Mr. Baron Park, and a London Jury).

RICHMOND v. MARSHALL AND ANOTHER.

This was an action brought by Alexander David Richmond, whose name has been long familiar to the public as connected with the state trials in the west of Scotland in 1817, for libels published in *Tait's Magazine*, of May, June, July, and August, 1833. The libels complained of, which are of great length, are contained in a series of articles published in *Tait's Magazine*, under the title of "The Spy System; or, 'Tis Thirteen Years Since." They purport to be reviews of a work published in Glasgow on the subject of the system of espionage pursued by the Government during the disturbances of 1817; but in the course of them Mr. Richmond is accused, not only of participating in those disturbances himself, but as being the principal instigator and promoter of them; and divers opprobrious epithets are lavished on him as a person who betrayed a number of innocent and ignorant victims into crime and misfortune for the purpose of getting money from the Government. In short, he is throughout spoken of as a spy employed by the Government.

Mr. Richmond defended his own cause, but was assisted by Mr. Steer, to whom he occasionally referred when a legal point was mooted.

Mr. RICHMOND, on rising to state this case, in which he was the plaintiff, considered himself called upon to assign, before he went into its detail, the reasons which had induced him to deviate from the customary practice of employing some member of the bar to manage the proceedings for him. It originated not in his being opposed to that custom, neither was it because he entertained the slightest disrespect towards the gentlemen of that branch of the legal profession, but it was because he looked upon the case as one of so complicated a nature, and so extensive in its operations, that to sift it with the minuteness necessary to an arrival at all its bearings, with an accuracy requisite to do him justice, it would lead to such enormous expenses as would far outstrip his means. The case was surrounded with difficulties much exceeding those ordinarily to be encountered. The action was brought by himself against the defendants, who were the London publishing agents of a work printed in Edinburgh, entitled *Tait's Magazine*. The defendants had pleaded first the general issue, and next a justification to the whole of the libels. At present he would not go further into the pleadings, as it would be requisite for him to go into the libels *seriatim*, and should, as he proceeded, have occasion to call the attention of the jury to the state of the law. It would be necessary for him to go over a general retrospection of nearly twenty-five years, and his object, in doing so was to show the position in which he was placed in society at the period of the libels re-

ferred to. The scene of this case, or rather the place in which the circumstances occurred, was Lanarkshire, in Scotland, a large manufacturing county, and it was necessary to draw the attention of the jury to some events connected with the cotton manufacture, to show the general condition of the population, which condition led to the occurrences in question. As far back as 1800, certain proceedings were taken by the manufacturers, with a view of reducing the price of labour. Between that year and 1809, two or three attempts were made in Parliament, and two committees were appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the state of manufactures. The last of these committees was in 1809. After the appointment of that committee, Mr. Samuel Whitbread and other enlightened individuals recommended that the operatives should form committees or associations of their own, for the purpose of regulating the prices of labour. This step was accordingly taken, and they commenced their operations about the end of 1809, and were continued until the winter of 1811 and 1812. Every person at all connected with trade at that period would recollect, that the year 1819 was one of great mercantile distress; numbers went into the *Gazette* and were utterly ruined, and a consequent depreciation in the price of labour followed. Another application was consequently made to Parliament, in which Lancashire, Scotland, and the north of Ireland joined. Failing, however, in their application against the restrictions, and the question not being listened to, and considering that their demands were not unreasonable, it was by some resolved, by way of experiment, to try what effect a strike of hands would have. A general consultation was therefore held, and the result was, to put the experiment into operation in Scotland and Cumberland. From the year 1809, he had become an active manager and agent in the business. A committee of five persons, he himself being one, had been formed for the purpose of conducting the affair to a favourable issue, if possible. After consulting upon this subject, and supported as they were by most of the leading merchants and manufacturers—he did not mean to say that all individuals ranking in that grade of society coincided in the course they were adopting—it was agreed that a strike should take place. The whole kingdom of Scotland struck at once. Such an event could not have been brought to pass had it not been for the existence of the association to which he had alluded; proceedings were next taken, and it was arranged to try the question in Scotland. The consequence of the "strike" was, that the Government became alarmed at so formidable a state of things, and in the course of five or six weeks troops were poured into all the districts in which the strike had been made. Other and numerous steps were taken, and himself and various individuals were arrested and indicted before the Court of Justiciary in Scotland. During the progress of the proceedings he had become

acquainted with many gentlemen of high rank and learning, and amongst them was the present Lord Jeffrey, then editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, who took a deep interest in his affairs. It would here be well for him to state, that the Supreme Court of Scotland was unshackled by any statute law; the court possessed a legislative as well as a judicial power, as it would at once apply a remedy, without waiting for an act of Parliament. In such a case as that to which he had called the attention of the jury, the Supreme Court had an unlimited power of awarding punishment. In England it was different; for whilst the Court of Scotland could sentence persons convicted of this offence to transportation for life, or any thing, indeed, short of capital punishment, that of England was then restricted to the infliction of three months' imprisonment. As might be imagined, great excitement prevailed over the country. It was, however, highly creditable to the population of Scotland, that, throughout the whole of the affair, their conduct was of so peaceable a nature, that he believed St. would have more than covered any damage sustained by any disturbance or act of theirs. With regard to the indictment against himself, he was advised by the then Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Cockburn, not to stand the test of trial, but to wait until the excitement of feeling had subsided. Upon this kind suggestion he acted, and at the end of fourteen or fifteen months, during which time he had been totally separated from, and deserted by, the parties for whom the sacrifice of his own comforts had been made, and almost utterly ruined, he surrendered. The court, then taking a more lenient view of his case, sentenced him to one month's imprisonment. He had been thus minute on this part of the case, for the purpose of showing the position he had held in society at the time of these events. He then referred to the position of matters in the country as regarded the manufacturing population when a re-action took place, a re-action consequent upon the peace of 1815, and also to the events of 1816 and 1817. Prior to the meeting of Parliament in the last-named year, very considerable excitement, it would be remembered, existed; a large mass of persons were out of employment, and a large number of petitions were got up and presented to the legislative body upon the subject of the then state of the manufacturing population. Information at this time reached him that the Ministers had received information of the existence of a secret conspiracy to overturn the Government. Being well aware of the precise state of the country to which he resided, and having at the same time been in continual contact with the people, he was appealed to by a Mr. Finlay, a gentleman who was thoroughly acquainted with his station and the rank he held in society, because he was known to have been connected with, and to have assisted in the getting up of the petitions to Parliament in 1817. Mr. Finlay approved of the general

picture he had given to Messrs. Jeffrey and Cockburn, of the condition of the country. He felt at that period, that he had sufficient influence with the people to prevent them from proceeding to acts which were opposed to a continuance of the general tranquillity and peace of the country. He had, nevertheless, stated, that he would not lend his assistance, unless under particular conditions. The first of those stipulations was, that he should be at liberty to communicate with his friends at Edinburgh upon the subject. That proposition was objected to, but after the lapse of a few days, further negotiation took place with him. The next condition was to this effect, that should he fail to persuade the people to abandon their course of proceedings, such of them as might have been taken into custody in consequence of information furnished by himself, should be secure from punishment, let their offence have been as clear as possible. Another condition was, that he was at full liberty to adopt what steps he might deem proper, without any interference, unless in the event of the probability of actual danger arising to the public peace; and that whatever were the results of any measures acted upon by the Government, Messrs. Jeffrey and Cockburn should be made acquainted with them. He had next proposed that several other persons should be admitted into the confederacy—persons who were unacquainted either with him or with each other: and that then, their respective accounts being checked, there could not by any possibility be a garbled statement. He further also stipulated that the most profound secrecy should be observed, and that he should hold no communication with the Government. Unluckily, however, this last condition was not adhered to by all the parties concerned. Over the individuals breaking through the compact in question, he had no control; and the consequence of its infraction was, that he found himself placed in a very ambiguous position, and his friends refused to permit him to make any real statement of the affair. In consequence of the stipulation in question not being strictly enforced, it led to the premature apprehension of several persons connected with this secret confederacy, and they were brought to trial, but, for the want of proper evidence, were acquitted. Of the parties so acquitted he knew but two, but the arrest of those persons led to the declaration, that he knew of the existence of the confederacy. As it was a prosecution of a novel nature, from the circumstances connected with it, all the popular counsel gave their assistance to the accused parties, and they were acquitted. He had not been arrested, and if the men had been convicted, he should have had no hesitation in laying the whole of the facts before the public; but, as it was, he was prevented from so doing; and he ultimately suffered the greatest misery, and a very great pecuniary sacrifice. He had been advised by some of his friends to quit the

country, and they offered him their assistance to do so. Messrs. Cockburn and Jeffrey said, "No; Mr. Richmond has been ruined by his exertions to keep the peace of the country, and the Government are bound to indemnify him." In consequence of this a representation was made to the Government, and a sum of money was given in full of all demands upon Government. Mr. Richmond, then, after some further observations, proceeded to state the nature of the libels of which he complained. The first of these publications appeared in the number of *Tait's Magazine* for May, 1833, and was headed "The Spy System of the last Thirteen Years!" It stated that in the summer of the last year 1820 the Whigs and Reformers of Edinburgh, after a long day of gloom, saw a ray of hope, held a meeting, at which a resolution was proposed that "the present Government had refused to alleviate the distresses of the people, and had employed spies and informers to a most unprecedented extent, and who were in many cases the cause of those disturbances for which other persons were frequently punished." It next went on to state, "it was a system equal to that of the Inquisition, or France under Richelieu and Mazarin; that amongst the worst of these spies was one Richmond, a clever knave, and therefore the more dangerous. This man became acquainted with Messrs. Cockburn and Jeffrey, and when he was indicted for being concerned in a combination, they advised him not to stand a trial, and he accordingly ran away, and was outlawed. He shortly afterwards came back to Scotland, and again made an application to Messrs. Cockburn and Jeffrey for money." This assertion was totally devoid of truth; and so far from his having applied to Mr. Jeffrey for pecuniary assistance, that gentleman, when he was sentenced to the imprisonment already mentioned of one month, wrote a letter in which he consoled with him in his misfortunes and enclosed, of his own free will and unsolicited, a sum of money. The second libel stated that, "This knave Richmond made another application to Mr. Finlay, who was at that time full of a grand state secret or plot to overthrow the Government, and Richmond was just the man to suit his purpose, and who could be advantageously employed to obtain information of the facts connected with the supposed plot. Accordingly an arrangement was immediately entered into between these two worthies. But when rogues fall out honest men get their own; and accordingly, some time afterwards, Richmond wrote a work in which he stated that when he was applied to, to become a spy, he refused to do so until he had consulted his friends, Messrs. Cockburn and Jeffrey, upon the subject, as a saving clause." In other extracts, Mr. Richmond was designated a "villanous spy." One of the expressions applied to him was, "the social Burker found more credulous victims." The plaintiff here commented at some length as to what might be termed a true and proper definition of the

law of libel. He should define a libel itself to be the use of an expression which was calculated to depreciate or to lower a man in the estimation of his fellows. He would, therefore, contend, with every confidence, that the phrase which he had just quoted came within that definition. No event ever excited more unmitigated horror than the circumstances arising out of the trial of the man named "Burke," and as the whole scope of English language was not capable of conveying an idea of greater atrocity than that expression, he thought the jury would be instantly so convinced that the publication in question was a libel, that it could not be necessary for him to make a single animadversion as to the animus of the writer. In another part he was termed "a ruffian," and was stated "to have proposed a treasonable oath, and to have corrupted a weaver." The article next proceeded, in reference to the conditions made by Mr. Richmond, to say, that "a treasonable address had been posted up in Glasgow by the spy and his emissaries." Now he submitted that these articles had been written with the view of confounding events and circumstances, and by such means to raise up an unfavourable impression against him. The occurrences of various years had been mingled together in such a manner as most artfully to confound his intentions. There was likewise a distinct charge of treason against him. The Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, in consequence of the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the subject of the general insurrectionary movements throughout the country. The statements further said that "the Government wished to get rid of their creature, Richmond, and to ship him off to the Cape of Good Hope, but he was too good a judge, and he stuck to their skirts like a burr. He was not content with a few hundreds. This poor weaver talked contemptuously of a few hundreds. He knew his power, and was determined to exert it. At this time the people of Glasgow had begun to be suspicious of Richmond, and the circumstance of his connexion with Finlay increased the suspicion." He was also accused of having incited parties to commit offences against the Government and against the law. It was likewise stated that he had first met Mr. Finlay as an honest man, and that he had seduced him into becoming a spy by the offer of such advantages as a needy man would be likely to grasp at. He had been employed, it was asserted, to discover a plot which absurdly was supposed to exist in the breast of Mr. Finlay, and not being able to ascertain that such plot existed, it was affirmed that he had created one himself. It was then said that without Mr. Finlay the infamous spy, Richmond, would never have been engaged to discover a plot, which fortunately broke down, instead of terminating in blood. He was thus treated as an incendiary, as a traitor, and as a spy. His attention was originally directed to this matter

shortly after the publication of the number for May, and he wrote a letter to the editor which reached that individual prior to the publication of the next number. Instead, however, of inserting that letter, the editor published a commentary, written by some person who had read his communication, treating every attempt to controvert the original statement with irony, sarcasm, and contempt. The last libel of which he had to complain was contained in the number for August in the same year; it, like its predecessors, appeared in the form of a review of what had previously been published in a penny unstamped paper in Glasgow. It began, as usual, with "The Spy System." The libel stated that "it was not they who had driven Richmond to execration and contempt, but it was his own exasperation at the fact of his annuity having been stopped at the Home-office; and that, therefore, having extorted all he could from one party, he would now endeavour to extort money by making the public acquainted with all that with which he was acquainted. Why did not the patriot spy come forward at the time when the Tory lawyers were doing all they could to hang and transport the poor men, and endeavour to save them?" They were saved; and if they had not been saved he should have come forward and stated what he knew. It was true, and he did not deny the fact, that he had had communications with the crown lawyers in Scotland in reference to the trials, but no one was incarcerated in consequence; and he could say with confidence, that it was by his interposition and influence that not a single individual underwent one hour's imprisonment during the existence of the Suspension Bill in 1817. The events of 1819 had been mixed up wilfully and cunningly with those of 1817. With the latter, however, he had nothing whatever to do. In fact the principal condition for which, at the original negotiation, he had stipulated, was, that he should have nothing to do with the prosecutions, and therefore it was that he was unable to render any assistance to the crown lawyers. He had, doubtless, been cited upon the first trial, but that was the only solitary occasion where he had been put into the witness-box. Subsequently, however, he had informed the crown legal advisers that he would afford them no assistance. Mr. Richmond then proceeded with a number of passages from the number of the Magazine for August, each and all of which he contended were of a libellous character as against himself. He next expressed his regret that the rules of evidence prevented his going into a statement of various other matters, which, by way of more clearly elucidating the case, he was anxious to place before the court. He should, however, rely upon the integrity of a British jury, resting satisfied that, under all the circumstances, they would judge the case fairly and impartially. It was at least eighteen years since he could be even imagined to have had any connex-

ion with the occurrences to which this case had reference, and he must here observe, that it had fallen to the lot of but few persons, possessed of his slender pecuniary means, to effect so much benefit to his fellow-creatures as he had had the happiness to accomplish. He would put it to the jury, as Englishmen, to say, with a view of showing the animus of the writer, that supposing all the statements to have been founded in fact, could there be a doubt that an injury must be inflicted by their publication, whether they did or not come within the true definition of a libel. He repeated, that never was any thing so utterly devoid of truth as the assertions contained in the publications in question. The intention of these libels was to show, that at one particular period the Government of this country did not hesitate to resort to the basest means to control the people, and that the men who were executed had taken up part in illegal proceedings, and that they were led on as dupes. The base insinuation, that he had led the people on to mischief, he utterly and indignantly denied. He then referred to Oliver, and said that though his (the plaintiff's) name had been connected with that individual, he knew nothing about him. He declared the whole of the charges brought against him were false, and added that if the motives of a man were looked upon as the test of good actions, and of good and upright intentions, then was that the most virtuous act of his life for performing which he had been so grossly calumniated and traduced in the libels in question. The plaintiff concluded a speech of nearly four hours' duration, by stating that the spirits and nerves of most men would have given way under the series of attacks which had been heaped upon him, and sat down, after expressing his thanks to the court and to the jury, for the patient attention they had extended to him.

Mr. Sergeant TALFOURD (for the defendants) here intimated, that he should feel it his duty to call evidence in support of the plea of justification.

Mr. STEER (who was engaged for the plaintiff) then called

Mr. Thomas Brown, who stated himself to be plaintiff's attorney: he produced the copies of *Tait's Magazine* for May, June, July, and August, 1833, in which the alleged libels were published. He had purchased them at the shop of Messrs. Simpkin and Marshall, Paternoster-row. The firm was Marshall and Miles, but they carried on business under the firm of Simpkin and Marshall.

Cross-examined. Knew that Mr. Miles was connected with the firm, because he had had a communication with him.

The copies of the Magazine were then put in, and the articles complained of read. They were of great length.

Mr. Richmond then said that he had numerous witnesses to speak to his standing in society for the last twelve or fourteen years.

Mr. Baron PARK. You have not put any

plea of special damage on the record; and you therefore cannot prove by these witnesses that you have sustained that damage.

Mr. Richmond was content to rest his case where it was.

Mr. Sergeant TALFOURD then rose to address the court for the defence. He commenced by saying, that he felt great difficulty in addressing the court, in consequence of the plaintiff having selected the London publishers of the Magazine for this action, and making them responsible for the matter of which he complained. They knew nothing of the contents of the Magazine; they merely received it from Edinburgh by steam, and could have no unfriendly feeling towards the plaintiff, of whom it was very possible they might never, before the present action was brought, have heard even the name. He admitted that the plaintiff had laid down the law of the case very correctly, and that publishers of a libel were as much the subject of an action as the writer or proprietors of the publication in which it appeared. He might have gone further, and said, for it was the fact, that not only the present publishers were responsible for the alleged libel, if it should be held to be such by the jury, but that all the vendors of the Magazine, nay, every person who had lent that Magazine to any friends or acquaintance, were equally liable in the eye of the law. But when he (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) admitted this, he was surprised at his bringing this action against the defendants, especially when he took so much credit to himself as he had done for integrity and disinterestedness, and the general excellence of his conduct. It would doubtless be right to bring an action against the publishers of a libel, when the person aggrieved could not get at the editor or proprietor of the work; but that justification could not be urged in the present instance, for the name of the editor and proprietor of the publication was legibly printed on every cover of the Magazine. It was a fact that Mr. Richmond had taken no steps whatever to prosecute Mr. Tait, the editor and proprietor of the publication in which the alleged libels appeared. The plaintiff must have known the fact of Mr. Tait being the party against whom the action ought to have been brought, as the plaintiff had addressed a letter to him by name, complaining of the articles in question. What possible excuse then could Mr. Richmond have for passing by Mr. Tait, and singling out the London publishers of the Magazine? The reason why he did so was, that he knew he could not venture to bring an action of this kind where his conduct in the transactions to which the articles referred had occurred and was so well known. There he could not venture to appear. If the plaintiff had been any thing other than a spy (let him deny the epithet as he may), would he not have brought his action in Scotland, and against the editor and proprietor of the journal in which the matter complained of appeared, and where he could have called

those persons of high and honourable character of whom he had spoken so much as being his friends, to give evidence in his favour? If they thought so highly of his conduct in the transaction referred to, they would only have had to step, as it were, across the streets to vindicate his character from those charges, had he brought his action in Scotland and against the proper party. Why had he not brought his action sooner? The article of which he complained, and out of which the other matter arose, was only a review of a work which had been published twelve months before the review appeared, and which work contained all the charges of which the plaintiff now complained. Why did he not bring his action against that work, when it was avowedly published by a Mr. Peter Mackenzie? Is Mr. Richmond to allow these charges to be brought against him in Glasgow, where he said his relations and friends chiefly were, and where they had become matters of notoriety, and then turn round and pounce on the London publishers of *Tait's Magazine*? He brought the action against the London publishers because he knew that the high and honourable persons whom he had represented to be his particular friends, could not leave their important official duties to come to give evidence in that court, but who, had the case been tried in Scotland, would have been subpoenaed to appear against him. But, Mr. Richmond, so far from having any ground of complaint for bringing the charges against him which were contained in the articles in question, actually published a work himself in 1824, in which all the same charges were mentioned; and he had also published a second edition of the same work in 1825, and which not only mentioned, but proved almost every charge contained against him in *Tait's Magazine*. That work was called "A Narrative of the Condition of the Manufacturing Population of Scotland, and of the Proceedings of Government relative to the State Trials in that country for administering unlawful Oaths in 1817, with a clear account of the Espionage adopted at that period in Glasgow and its neighbourhood." One thing was clear, that Mr. Richmond, at the time he published the work in question, was importuning, and had been importuning Government for compensation for services he had done the Government in 1817; but feeling in his own mind the hell of suing in vain, so forcibly described by Spenser in the quotation, he (the plaintiff) had given from that poet, he determines to revenge himself on the Government, and then, in disregard of all those domestic and family considerations, to which he had referred as making him desirous that the charges relative to the transactions of 1817 should not be again raked up, he develops and publishes to the world the whole matters connected with those transactions. He (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) would ask, then, was it not monstrous after this to turn round and pounce on those who had only repeated the

charges which he had published himself? He need not say that when a man published a work on his own conduct, that conduct was the fair subject of discussion and animadversion. If the book was condemnatory of his conduct, why complain of it when published by himself? And if exculpatory, then Mr. Tait gives the antidote along with the bane, by referring repeatedly in the course of the review to the work, and mentioning the name of the publisher. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd then referred to the circumstances connected with the plaintiff's conduct in 1817, and to the situation in life in which he had previously been placed. In that year Mr. Finlay had, in the name of the Government, caused a number of persons to be arrested and conveyed to Edinburgh on a charge of high treason, which charge was grounded on the information communicated to him by the plaintiff. These men were all tried for this capital offence, and might, some of them, have been hanged, and the rest transported for life, but for the evidence of a man of the name of Campbell. This man had been previously practised on by Mr. Richmond. When he came to be examined, he was asked by the judge, according to the usual custom in Scotch courts, whether he had been told what he was to say by any one, or whether he had received any fee or reward for the evidence he was to give? To the inexpressible surprise of the whole court, the witness said he had received money for the evidence he was about to give. This, of course, upset the whole proceedings, and the prisoners were all acquitted. Mr. Richmond, while he says that he only consented to furnish the information to the officers of Government, which led to the apprehension and imprisonment of those men, on the condition that all of them should be allowed to escape, admits that he heard the counsel for the prosecution remarking in conversation together, while the trial was going on, that some of them, if convicted, would be capitally punished, and that the rest would be transported for life; and he will have cause to thank God while he lives that his plans did not succeed. Mr. Richmond had been previously a private soldier; not that he (Mr. Talfourd) mentioned this as intending any reflection on him. On the contrary, had he raised himself from the humble circumstances of his early life by his own merits, in an honourable way, it would be the greater credit to him. He mentioned this fact merely to show the circumstances, in a pecuniary point of view, in which he had been placed previous to his being engaged in the transaction of 1817. After leaving the army, he worked as a hand-loom weaver, and being a better-informed man than most of those in his situation of life, he was appointed one of the delegates from Pollokshaws, in the Trades' Unions, which at that time existed in Glasgow, for raising the wages and improving the condition of that class of workmen in the strike which followed, though that strike could not be considered a matter of great moral

blame, Mr. Richmond was one of those who were to be tried for illegal combination, and, at the advice of the great Whig lawyers of Scotland, who undertook his defence gratuitously, having then no chance of acquittal, he left the country. He was then declared an outlaw. He returned when the storm had in some measure blown over, but concealed himself from the view of the public, until the necessity had in a great degree ceased to exist for making a public example of the leaders of unionists. It was at this time, and when in a state of the greatest destitution, that he met again with Mr. Finlay, and entered into negotiations with him for detecting the alleged conspiracy, though he says Mr. Finlay had formerly refused to assist him. He would not mention Mr. Richmond's destitution at this time, were it not to show that his protestations of not seeking a fee or reward from Government for his services, but spurning it when offered, could not be true. Mr. Finlay then asked him, according to his own account, at the first interview they had together in Mr. Finlay's house, whether he knew any thing of an extensive conspiracy that then existed against the Government in Glasgow. This was a strange question to ask a man in destitution, especially when it was considered it came from a political enemy. Mr. Richmond's answer—still going on his own published statements—was, that he knew of no such conspiracy; that he thought he must have known it if it did exist. Mr. Finlay rejoined that he had positive and undoubted information of the existence of a very extensive and frightful conspiracy direct from Government itself. Then replied Mr. Richmond, if it does exist, it must be among the most ignorant and lowest class of the weavers; and added that he could easily ascertain whether or not it did actually exist. He also engaged, if he should find a conspiracy, to furnish Mr. Finlay with all information regarding it, as that would be the best way to preserve the infatuated persons themselves from suffering from their own folly. He said it was so, and that it was, as he supposed, among the lowest, most ignorant, and most destitute classes. He said he got his information from a man of the name of M'Laughlan, and cautioned him against letting any one know that he (Mr. Richmond) had been conversing with him on the subject. All this occurred while the negotiation was going on with Mr. Finlay. He (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) did not know what the exact amount of money which Mr. Richmond received at the time for his services, and he could show from Mr. Richmond's own book, that it amounted to some hundreds of pounds. Mr. Finlay afterwards told him that he had the authority of Government to offer him a respectable situation if he would assist to keep the peace; but he (Mr. Richmond) according to his own statement, told Mr. Finlay that the only consideration which could operate with him was, engaging to save the men who might be taken into custody in consequence

of his information. He made an express stipulation with Mr. Finlay to that effect, and also, that he should not be called on to give evidence, or in any way appear against them; and further, that his friends Messrs. Jeffrey and Cockburn should be made acquainted with all that had passed. This being agreed to, he engaged to disperse the conspiracy. His plan was to get a person who was well acquainted with the arcana of the whole conspiracy, and then endeavour to convince him of the absurdity and danger of the contemplated opposition to Government. Mr. Richmond admits that he gave the man he singled out for this purpose a small sum of money to relieve his necessities. He (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) would ask with Mr. Tait, where did the money come from for this purpose? He would maintain that there was not a single charge of which Mr. Richmond complained, that was not made out by this unfortunate admission. At this time Mr. Richmond told the persons engaged in the conspiracy that he had great influence with the reformers in England, and actually told them whom they should co-operate with in England in organizing the general resistance to Government, though he himself says he gave the names of such persons as he knew would not engage in any such conspiracy. Campbell, the man who baffled the crown lawyers in the prosecution by confessing he was paid for the evidence he was about to give, was the next man played upon by Mr. Richmond, and he owned he had received some small sums of money from him. Mr. Richmond admits that he played on the poor deluded men by making them believe that he was favourable to the conspiracy; for, as already observed, he complied with their request to furnish them with the names of those with whom they ought to correspond for the organization of the rebellion. Mr. Richmond says, as had already been stated, that he spurned the offer of remuneration for the services on the occasion in question, and yet he afterwards appeals for years to Government to reward his services and to indemnify him for the losses he sustained. He (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) would ask what losses a man could sustain who was at the time in a state of destitution? Mr. Richmond complained of all these things being raked up against him at this distance of time. Why, then, he (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) would ask, did he not meet and repel the charges, and vindicate his character, in 1817, when the matter made so much noise in the country? In his book he admits the same charges were then made in a Glasgow paper, and yet he did not attempt to vindicate his character from them. He could then have called his friends, Messrs. Jeffrey and Cockburn, as they would have been on the spot, to give him the assistance he wanted. But why had he not on the present occasion got a line to produce in his favour by these gentlemen? He admits that his life rather resembles the portions of a romance than the actual circumstances of

real life, and that it would have been almost impossible for him at the time, and in Scotland, to make the public believe in the integrity and disinterestedness of his motives. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd then proceeded to remark at some length on the alleged libels, contending there was nothing in them which a man in his situation had any right to complain of, or which would injure his character to any greater extent than it had been damaged before. Mr. Richmond was a Scotchman, the transactions took place in Scotland, those of the parties who were still alive were there, and why not bring the action there, where, if his conduct had been good, it must be known to be so? He did not mean to say that Mr. Richmond was a man of such unqualified bad character as some others who had been employed by Government to do similar service for it; he did not believe, and he would give Mr. Richmond the full benefit of the admission, that he thirsted for the blood of the men whose lives he had endangered; he believed he only, in the destitute circumstances in which he was then placed, yielded to the temptation of the reward; he believed, indeed, the book he had published gave proofs of it, that his better nature had since relented, and that he regretted that he had ever been induced to act as he had done; nay, he would even do him the justice to believe that, before consenting to get up the alleged conspiracy, he had exacted a solemn condition from Mr. Finlay that none of the men who might be taken into custody as the ringleaders of the conspiracy should be subjected to any punishment, or injured in any way whatever; in short, he saw many redeeming qualities in Mr. Richmond, and he believed his conduct had been praiseworthy and honourable for the last ten or twelve years; still he must say, for the reasons he had already stated, that he did not see he had any right to complain of his character having been injured by the publications in question, and consequently he had no right to ask damages. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd sat down after a very able and eloquent speech of about three hours' duration.

The learned judge then asked Mr. Sergeant Talfourd whether he thought they would be able to finish that evening.

Mr. Sergeant Talfourd replied in the negative; and the case was consequently adjourned till Monday.

This important case was resumed, the witnesses were called for the defence.

Mr. M'Kenzie, a weaver, deposed that he was living at Glasgow, and was acquainted with Richmond, who was living at Glasgow. Witness recollects that in the year 1816 there was a great meeting at Thersgrove; should think there were 40,000 persons present; this was in October; Richmond was present. In the month of December the plaintiff spoke to him, and proposed an organization of the weavers. He said the people of England

ought to raise an army, and that the Scotch would join them if they did: he was supplied with plenty of means. Witness refused to have anything to do with it. Plaintiff said a rising ought to take place; witness refused to join in the plan; is still living at Glasgow; knew a period of greater distress amongst the manufacturers, that was in the years 1809 and 1810.

This witness was cross-examined at great length, by the plaintiff. The principal points were, that he was astonished the plaintiff should ask him to get up a rising of the weavers, as his opinions were so different, he thought the plaintiff had made a slip.

Buchanan. I am an engineer at the Adelphi Foundry. I am thirty-three years of age; I was acquainted with Mr. Richmond in the year 1816. At the end of that year he and his family were nearly in a state of starvation. He was living in a room above me. He had a wife and two children to support. He in general passed his time in going to public-houses and making speeches. I recollect the great Thersgrove meeting. I was present. On the following day I saw him, when he said he was sorry he had not spoken on the hustings. On the 1. of December, 1816, he hinted to me that there was such a thing as a secret association existing in Glasgow, for the purpose of overthrowing the Government. He said that as soon as that association was formed, he should be backed by a number of the first gentlemen in the land who would find him the means. I had frequent conversations with him in December. In the month of January, I met Mr. Richmond with a young man of the name of Fergusson. Mr. Richmond had a paper in his hand, which was about six inches square. I heard him say to Fergusson, on the paper being removed, he knew my sentiments and there was no danger in me; the paper was read. It was the form of an oath; as far as I can recollect, the person was bound by that form of oath to resist the Government morally as well as physically, as far as in his power; there was also a bond of union to unite together to overturn the Government. The paper was handed to me, which I read and returned, and he put it into his right hand waistcoat pocket. Fergusson then swore, there was nothing would save the land but the working classes, and that he was supported by the best gentlemen in the land. I agreed to take the oath. Fergusson then proposed to take me that night to a place where I could take the oath, and he then proposed to call on me at my shop; this took place in Richmond's presence. At eight o'clock, he called and took me to a room in Tureen-street; it was a school-room. I there saw two other persons, there was M'Kinlie and M'Lachlan; Fergusson said I had come to take the oath; they appeared to be pleased, and M'Kinlie administered the oath to me; Richmond's name was not mentioned. On the following day I saw Richmond, and he asked me had I heard what was proposed? I said I had; on which he replied, that as soon as a competent number had joined

us, they would begin. I frequently saw Mr. Richmond afterwards, and expressed my regret for what I had done. I said I was afraid there were some Windsors amongst us, alluding to the person who sold Colonel Despard; he said there was no fear, for he had plenty of means, and was supported by the best gentlemen in the land; he often mentioned to me the name of Mr. Owen, of Lanark. In consequence of what was said to me by a person, it induced me to put those questions to Mr. Richmond about Windsor. Two or three days afterwards a person called on me and said he was a spy. I replied I had seen Richmond, and he protested it was false; he then went up stairs, and shortly afterwards came down, bringing with him some ball cartridges, flints, and a turnscrew; he still protested his innocence. Said I might keep them, for he was supplied with other means, that nothing but the point of the bayonet would overturn the Government. I afterwards was at Claggates, where it was told that the officers had come in at the back way, when he exclaimed, "All is discovered, and I am lost"; several were apprehended. I afterwards saw on the walls of Glasgow, written in chalk, "Beware of Richmond the Spy"; it remained on the walls for several months. Richmond then left Glasgow.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1834.

DUNN, T. P., Cain's-cross, near Stroud, Gloucestershire, wool-merchant.
 EMERSON, A., Lawrence Poutney-lane, Cannon-street, lead-merchant.
 EZEKIEL, B., Tiverton, Devonshire, draper.
 EMBERLIN, W., Deddington and Burford, Oxfordshire, paper-maker.
 GOODACRE, J., Silkstone, Yorkshire, linen-manufacturer.
 HEIGHINGTON, B., Darlington, Durham wine-merchant.
 RACE, J., Wells, next the Sea, Norfolk, grocer.
 ROBINSON, J., Whitehaven, bookseller.
 SHEPHERD, W., Saddleworth, Yorkshire, merchant.
 WRIGGLESWORTH, J., Liverpool, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION

WILSON, G., Strathaven, merchant.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

INSOLVENTS.

HAYWARD, J., Tottenham-ct.-rd., butcher.
 MOORE, F., jun., Old Kent-road, Surrey,
 vinegar-merchant.
 SHADGETT, B., Loose, Kent, carpenter.

BANKRUPTS.

BOYCE, G., Tiverton, bookseller.
 CLARK, C., Stowey, Somersetshire, chemist.
 ELLIS, W., Portsea, Southampton, timber-
 merchant.
 GILBERT, J., sen., Woburn, Buckingham-
 shire, innkeeper.
 NEWINGTON, H. H., High-street, South-
 wark, chinaman.
 PARKINS, J., King William-street, London-
 bridge, tailor.
 STEPHENSON, R. M., and C. J. Blunt,
 Great Ormond-street, Queen-square, civil-
 engineers.
 VOLLANS, J., sen., D. Vollans, and J. Vol-
 lans, jun., Leeds, woollen-cloth-manufac-
 turers.
 WINTERBOTTOM, R., Furlane-within-Sad-
 dleworth, Yorkshire, woollen-manufac-
 turer.
 WINTERBOTTOM, W. C., and W. Dickson,
 Oldham, fustian-manufacturers.
 YATES, R., Manchester, innkeeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 29.—

The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morn-
 ing's market, from the home counties, were
 very moderate, and the land carriage samples
 were also extremely limited. At the com-
 mencement of the market, the trade for
 Wheat as well as Barley, appeared to have
 assumed a firmer character; but towards the
 close, the market became heavy, and the
 business transacted was on a very limited
 scale. Fine white Wheat was, in instances,
 a shade dearer, and fine red realizing the
 prices of this day se'nnight, but other quali-
 ties difficult of disposal, and several samples,
 even of the short supply, left on hand. In
 bonded Wheat nothing doing.

Fine Chevalier Barley was steady sale at the
 previous rates, but Norfolk and Suffolk malt-
 ing, as well as distilling qualities, were heavy
 sale. Grinding sorts might have been bought
 on rather lower terms.

Malt dull, but prices unaltered.

The arrival of Oats from Scotland was libe-
 ral, but only moderate from England and Ire-
 land. The trade ruled dull, at the terms of
 last week.

Beans heavy sale, and 1s. lower.

White and Grey Peas also were in limited
 request, and might have been purchased on
 lower terms.

Flour extremely heavy, and ship marks
 almost unsaleable, unless lower terms were
 submitted to.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new.... | 42s. to 53s. |
| Old | 48s. to 52s. |
| Red, new | 38s. to 42s. |
| Old | 40s. to 42s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 37s. to 42s. |
| White | 43s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire, red | 36s. to 40s. |
| White | 40s. to 42s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 38s. to 40s. |
| Fine white | 40s. to 42s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 43s. to 44s. |
| Irish, red, good | 35s. to 36s. |
| White | 38s. to 42s. |
| Rye, new | 30s. to 33s. |
| Old .. | 34s. to 36s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 26s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 30s. |
| Malting | 32s. to 36s. |
| Chevalier | 37s. to 39s. |
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 33s. to 35s. |
| Old | 36s. to 38s. |
| Harrow, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 38s. to 40s. |
| Foreign | 36s. to 40s. |
| Grey or Hog | 38s. to 40s. |
| Maples | 40s. to 42s. |
| Oats, Polands | 21s. to 24s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 22s. to 23s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 20s. to 21s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 20s. to 22s. |
| Black | 22s. to 23s. |
| Northumberland and Ber- wick Potato, new | 24s. to 25s. |
| Old | 25s. to 27s. |
| Angus, new | 23s. to 24s. |
| Old | —s. to —s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com- mon new | 23s. to 24s. |
| Old | —s. to —s. |
| Potato | 24s. to 26s. |
| Old | 25s. to 27s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 21s. to 23s. |
| Old | —s. to —s. |
| Feed, new light | 17s. to 19s. |
| Black, new | 20s. to 21s. |
| Foreign feed | 23s. to 23s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 21s. |

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c... | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed.... | 12s. to 14s. |
| Brew | 16s. to 18s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Butter, Dorset | 40s. to 42s. per cwt. |
| — Cambridge | 40s. to —s. |
| — York | 38s. to —s. |
| Cheese, Dble. Gloucester | 48s. to 68s. |
| — Single ditto.... | 44s. to 48s. |
| — Cheshire | 54s. to 74s. |
| — Derby | 50s. to 60s. |
| Hams, Westmoreland.. | 50s. to 60s. |
| — Cumberland ... | 50s. to 60s. |

SMITHFIELD, December 29.

This day's supply of Beasts was, for that of a holiday market, rather great, but considerably beneath time of year average quality; its supply of Sheep, Calves, and Porkers, moderately good. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

About 1,900 of the beasts, consisting of about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with about 200 Herefords, and about 150 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of our northern districts; about 300, chiefly Herefords, Devons and runts, with a few Scots and Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts: about 200, chiefly Scots, with a few Devons and runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge-shire; about 80, chiefly Sussex Beasts, with a few Devons, runts, Scots, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and most of the remainder, including about 50 Town's-end Cows, from the stall feeders, &c. in the neighbourhood of London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter, about an eighth Southdowns; and the remainder of about equal numbers of old Leicesters and Lincolns, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dors ets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

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MORISON'S PILLS,

Report from Mr. WILLIS, Agent for Wallingford, Berks.

TO MESSRS. MORISON AND MOAT.

GENTLEMEN,—On returning you the petition for the liberation of Mr. Webb (which has been signed by 160 individuals of this small district, willingly and cheerfully given, as I can attest on oath, if required), I beg leave to state an excellent case of the soundness and purity of your invaluable medicines.

A young woman, of the name of Fanny Cosens, was so diseased from her infancy, with "complication of disorders," as to render her a diminutive, wretched object. About two years since she was so ill that she could not walk two yards without great pain, and about this time she began taking "Morison's Pills," in large and powerful doses. A large substance, which was formed in her side, soon began to disappear, and passed through her bowels like putrid flesh, or liver, and at times, as large as a tea-cup. It is now quite gone. She has voided three different sorts of worms in great quantities: in short, by the help of the Pills alone, whole heaps of corruption have been cast out of the body and still continue to be discharged; but, thank heaven, she is now able to follow her domestic employment, and can walk ten miles without the least pain, or apparent fatigue. The faith and enthusiastic joy and gratitude of the poor girl is better conceived than described, by any one but herself, which she intends shortly to lay before the public.

I have many more important cases under my care of which you will be apprized in due time.

I am, gentlemen,

Your faithful servant and friend,

BETSY WILLIS,

Agent for Wallingford, Berks.

Sept. 15, 1834.

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To Mr. Mason, General Agent for Staffordshire.

Sir,—For the benefit of the afflicted, I beg you to make public the case and cure of my wife, who has been under extreme suffering from a severe attack of Rheumatism, brought on by a cold, and settled on the chest and lungs, attended with a heavy cough and expectoration. Finding no relief from the usual means, she had recourse to the "Universal Vegetable Medicines," and she is happy to say, that, by a due attention to them, she is so very much recovered, that a perfect cure may be considered as already effected; for which she is thankful to God as the author of the blessing, and to Mr. Morison, as the agent of Providence, in the discovery of this inestimable remedy. I am respectfully, sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. ELLIS.

Yoxhall, Staffordshire,
19. April, 1834.

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